

SCRIPTURE TEXTS IN REGARD TO PAUPERISM.

"Blessed is he that considereth the poor: the Lord will deliver him in time of trouble."—Ps. xli. 1.

"He that tilleth his land shall have plenty of bread."—Prov. xxviii. 19.

"I went by the field of the slothful, and by the vineyard of the man void of understanding; and, lo, it was all grown over with thorns, and nettles had covered the face thereof, and the stone wall thereof was broken down. Then I saw and considered it well: I looked upon it, and received instruction. Yet a little sleep, a little slumber, a little folding of the hands to sleep: so shall thy poverty come as one that travaileth; and thy want as an armed man."—Prov. xxiv. 33-34.

"The drunkard and the glutton shall come to poverty: and drowsiness shall clothe a man with rags."—Prov. xxiii. 21.

"Seest thou a man diligent in his business? he shall stand before kings; he shall not stand before mean men."—Prov. xxii. 29.

"Rob not the poor, because he is poor: neither oppress the afflicted in the gate: for the Lord will plead their cause, and spoil the soul of those that spoiled them."—Prov. xxii. 22, 23.

"The rich ruleth over the poor, and the borrower is servant to the lender."—Prov. xxii. 7.

"He that loveth pleasure shall be a poor man: he that loveth wine and oil shall not be rich."—Prov. xxi. 17.

"Whoso stoppeth his ears at the cry of the poor, he also shall cry himself, but shall not be heard."—Prov. xxi. 13.

"Love not sleep, lest thou come to poverty; open thine eyes, and thou shalt be satisfied with bread."—Prov. xx. 13.

"The sluggard will not plow by reason of the cold; therefore shall he beg in harvest, and have nothing."—Prov. xx. 4.

"An idle soul shall suffer hunger."—Prov. xix. 15.

"He also that is slothful in his work is brother to him that is a great waster."—Prov. xviii. 9.

"If any man will not work, neither shall he eat."—2 Thess. iii. 10.

"Moreover, the profit of the earth is for all: the king himself is served by the field."—Eccles. v. 9.

"In the multitude of the people is the king's honour: but in the want of people is the destruction of the prince."—Prov. xiv. 23.

"There is a generation whose teeth are as swords, and their jaw-teeth as knives, to devour the poor from off the earth, and the needy from among men."—Prov. xxx. 14.

PREFACE.

THE time is surely come when a bold effort must be made to reach, and if possible, by the blessing of God, to remedy, some of our more prominent social evils, and especially the evil of our rapidly increasing pauperism and crime.

Various opinions have prevailed in regard to the true origin of such evils, some tracing them exclusively to moral, and others to physical causes. The truth is, that they spring from both, which plainly act and react on each other. Moral degradation leads to physical, and physical again plunges its unhappy victims into deeper moral debasement, and both causes working together, soon destroy the very foundations of the social fabric, and involve the industrious classes in enormous and yet unavailing expense.

Our late modes of dealing with our social evils have only aggravated them, whilst nothing effectual, nothing sufficiently comprehensive, nothing that goes deep enough towards the roots of the evil, has been seriously attempted. The plans proposed in the following pages have been justified by the experience of other lands, and if there is not wisdom or energy to attempt something effectual here, it requires no prophet to predict that our day of prosperity is nearly closed. But I trust that God, in his great loving-kindness, may yet have mercy in store for this land of martyrs and of many prayers. When we think of our noble ancestors, of "poor peasant Covenanters wrestling"—as Carlyle says, "battling for very life in rough, miry places"—to secure the freedom of Scotland, and her temporal and spiritual elevation, in other and darker days, shall we, to whom this rich legacy has been bequeathed, tamely surrender our birthright in a time of

peace and "merciful visitation," by hesitating to promote such measures as the extraordinary circumstances of the nation both imperatively require and may assist us to secure? The base of our social pyramid requires greatly to be widened, and the hands of the giant to be guided to the pillars of corruption, lest they seize on the pillars of the social temple itself. I know that some of our very worthy people reckon such subjects to be beyond the scope of a minister's province. I am not careful to answer such; let them retain their opinion. But he must be a hard-hearted minister who does not sympathize with the temporal sufferings and difficulties of his people at such a time as this, or who can subscribe unmoved so many emigration certificates to some of the best of them, driven most reluctantly into unnecessary exile; and he a very ignorant minister who knows not that it is his duty to "do good to all men as he has opportunity," and that in the very temporal prosperity of his people, the absence of many obstacles in the way of his work, and their ability to aid in advancing the cause of God, are essentially involved. The statesman-like Presbyterians of the past, Knox and George Buchanan, Henderson, Rutherford, and Carstares, Chalmers with his civic economy, and Duncan with his Savings' banks, all knew this, although it may be a mystery to some of our smaller men.

The following pages are not a reprint of the letters which lately appeared in the *Witness*. Some of the matter there published is incorporated, especially in the Appendix; but a large portion of this Pamphlet will be found to be new, and to contain a more systematic discussion of our social problems.

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PAUPERISM AND THE POOR LAWS.

It is long since Fletcher of Saltoun remarked with great force, that "there is not perhaps in human affairs any thing so unaaccountable as the indignity and cruelty with which the far greater part of mankind suffer themselves to be used under pretence of government. . . . For though mankind take great care and pains to instruct themselves in other arts and sciences, yet very few apply themselves to consider the nature of government, an inquiry so useful and necessary both to magistrate and people. . . 'Tis very strange that they should think study and knowledge necessary in every thing they go about, except in the noblest and most useful of all applications—the art of government . . . The generality of all ranks of men are cheated by words and names, and provided the ancient terms and outward forms of any government be retained, let the nature of it be never so much altered, they continue to dream that they still enjoy their former liberty, and are not to be awakened till it prove too late." * The spirit of these remarks is most applicable to the present state of Britain, and especially of Scotland. We are in the process of a social revolution, which threatens to swallow up the middle classes of society, and beggar and ultimately enslave the lower. The middle classes feel the evil keenly, but do not seem to be aware of its cause. The aristocracy look on with

* Fletcher's Political Works.

quiet indifference, contenting themselves, before the storm, with clearing their ample estates of human beings, to make way for sheep and deer, which will neither become paupers nor politicians. Let the swarms thus driven into the cities eat up the shopkeepers and merely industrious classes, what does that matter? Meantime Scotland has really no voice in the government of Britain, and, insulted by the midnight legislation of St Stephen's, is more thoroughly trampled upon than at any previous period of her history. It is high time for every man to speak out who have any thing to propose. And as, having had a small share in managing the poor of one of our parishes for eight years, and having travelled a little both in Europe and America, and as a minister of a church which, from the days of Knox to those of M'Gill and Chalmers, has always struggled at once for the temporal and spiritual interests of the "commonalty of Scotland," I make no apology for candidly and freely stating my opinion. It is well that there is at present a prospect of being listened to.

The question, What shall be done with the masses of our mendicant and criminal population? is growing in importance and urgency every day. It presses on the attention of the managers of the poor,—of ragged schools,—of criminal establishments,—of all classes that are called to pay our rapidly increasing assessments and taxes. The pauperism question ought also to be deeply interesting to the poor themselves, and those trembling on the brink of beggary, or about to be driven by despair to banish themselves from their native land as a means of saving their little all from ruin. The progress of poor's rates in Scotland is worth glancing at. It appears from the *First Book of Discipline*, that when Scotland emerged from Popery at the Reformation, there were in it, as in all Popish countries, crowds of beggars. John Knox says—"Fearful and horrible it is that the poor, whom not only God the Father in his law, but Christ Jesus in his evangel, and the Holy Spirit speaking by St Paul, hath so earnestly commended to our care, are universally so contemned and despised." And he

declares, concerning the "labourers and manurers of the ground," that "their life to them hath been dolorous and bitter." The attempt to make a just provision for them, however, was defeated until the statute 1579, cap. 74, was enacted, which, Lord Cuninghame says, "has often been referred to as the charter of the poor in Scotland." This seems to have met the evil for a time; but at the Revolution, after the wasting persecutions of Charles and James, Fletcher of Saltoun tells us that there were 200,000 "beggars wandering from door to door," whilst the population was scarcely one-third of its present amount. The evil was, however, again overcome by the application of Christian and economic means; and we hear little more of it till after the breaking up of the clans in 1748, which began to throw the Highlands into sheep pasture, and drive the people down to starve on the bleak sea-shores, and till manufactures began to crowd our cities and increase our wealth, but not our Christianity. Assessments for the poor slowly began to enter the very seats of wealth and commercial enterprise. It appears from Sir John Sinclair's statistical report, that from 1792 to 1798, the number of parishes assessed in Scotland for the poor was only 92. In 1820, it appears from a report by the General Assembly to Parliament, that whilst the wealth of the country had greatly advanced, the number had increased to 192. In 1836-7, another report from the Assembly to Parliament shows that the number of assessed parishes had increased to 238; whilst by the last report of the "Board of Supervision for the Relief of the Poor in Scotland," it appears that "the number of parishes now assessed is 602," proving that the last remains of our Scottish system is just vanishing away. The sum collected in the days of Sir John Sinclair, by a public tax for the poor, must have been merely nominal. From 1807 to 1816, the average amount of assessment for all Scotland, was only L.49,718 : 10 : 5². Even so late as 1835-6-7, it was only L.77,239 : 19 : 0. Last year the assessment amounted to no less than L.464,867 : 3 : 8, and the total expenditure was L.544,334 : 7 : 6³/₄.

During the year before last, the rates increased by the immense sum of L.138,683, or L.14,493 *more than the whole increase for the previous ten years*. And it is expected that this year the outlay will exceed L.600,000, and, in the nature of things now, it must be ever increasing with gigantic strides, unless some effectual means can be discovered of arresting the progress of the evil. This has been the case in England, where, notwithstanding its immense wealth, whole parishes have been swallowed up in the vortex; and, although some slight arrest was laid upon the evil by the recent amended law, the poor's-rate is advancing again with steady pace—pressing with crushing effect on industry—and driving intelligent men of capital to their wits' end. A meeting has just been held in Manchester, of practical men from several parts of England, from which it appears that the state of England in regard to pauperism is deplorable, and daily becoming worse. The following, amongst other statistics, are given as illustrating the rapid increase of poor's rates:—

Towns.	Poor Rate for average of 8 years before 1847.	Amount of Poor Rate for 1848.
	£	£
Blackburn	10,000	16,000
Bolton.....	17,000	27,000
Burnley	11,000	18,000
Bury	11,000	20,000
Chorlton-on-Medlock ..	9,000	21,000
Liverpool	47,000	116,000
Manchester	50,000	125,000
Oldham	10,000	19,000
Preston	15,000	33,000
Rochdale.....	9,000	15,000
Salford.....	9,000	22,000
Stockport.....	13,000	18,000
Warrington.....	8,000	16,000
West Derby.....	8,000	25,000
Wigan.....	11,000	16,000
	<hr/> 238,000	<hr/> 507,000

No doubt this enormous increase during the past year was partly caused by the stagnation of railway labour and the unprecedented mercantile distress; but it may give our Scotch people an idea of what awaits them, when they find

fifteen English towns paying upwards of half a million annually of poor's rates, being nearly as much as all Scotland, and this increasing in one year by L.269,000. Meantime other burdens are heavy, and especially crime, which is also attended with vast expense, is increasing in the same proportion. In 1836, the number of criminals in Scotland was 2922; in 1847 it was 4635. And if to all this frightfully increasing local expense be added the disclosures which have been made by the *Times* newspaper, of the plunder committed by begging letter impostors and other traders in mendicancy, amounting, it is supposed, to "not less than L.1,500,000 a year;" and by the Financial Association, in regard to the wasteful public expenditure of the country,—it will be seen that the middle and industrious classes are being rapidly eaten up both from above and below. A great flight of aristocratic pensioners from above, and a growing swarm of paupers and criminals from below, have gradually placed the middle classes between two fires, which equally threaten to consume them. Self-defence, if no higher motive, loudly calls on them to arouse, ere the confiscation of their property and the downfall of the nation be complete.

What makes the necessity of a careful examination of the whole question, and of altering our present system, still more clear, is the admitted fact, that with all this enormous outlay, the state, both moral and physical, of the population, is manifestly getting daily worse. The lean kine are not only eating up the fat, and not getting fatter; but are *getting leaner* in proportion to the growing voracity of their appetite. Dr Chalmers and other far-sighted men predicted this, but were not listened to at the time. This fact, however, is now quite clear and universally admitted. It is well expressed in a recent article in *Chambers's Journal*. Speaking of the enormous and fruitless expense lavished on criminals, the writer says,—

"During the same period, the regulated expenditure for the relief of poverty in all the various ways has increased enormously; and yet the number of beggars have not been lessened; neither has there been a diminution of the numbers of those poor people who, we are

told, pine unrelieved. On the contrary, human patience is worn out with the importunities of ragged men, women, and children, in the streets of every large town ; and the meaner parts of each city are now as much crammed with hopeless destitution as ever. About fourteen years ago, one hundred and forty thousand pounds was the outlay for the poor in Scotland through the regular channel: now the expenditure in the parishes is approaching half a million ; there is a vast increase of beneficence in other ways ; and yet there is more obtrusive mendicancy, and more obscure unreached wretchedness, than formerly. It follows that either society is going through a rapid course of demoralization from causes independent of poverty, or that our late solicitude to take the burdens of individuals upon the public shoulders has resulted in this demoralization, notwithstanding, it may be, an increase in the general resources of the community."

The state of the case, therefore, is very serious and alarming ; and it is satisfactory to find that, at an approaching meeting of delegates of Poor's Boards from all parts of Scotland, it is to be considered in all its bearings.

In considering this question, it is earnestly to be desired that the evil itself and its causes may be fairly looked in the face, before the mere details of the present Poor-law are considered. If the evil itself could be clearly seen and greatly abated, that would be of paramount importance, whilst mere details are, in comparison, scarcely worth attention at all. If the assessment must continue to increase at the rate of £100,000 a-year, it is not difficult to predict the result, no matter who pays the money in the first instance. And yet little attention has been paid to the first of these subjects. The previous debates which have taken place in various districts about mere *modes* of assessment—each one trying to shift the burden from his own shoulder—are surely contemptible in comparison of the grand question—Can we relieve the rich, and at the same time elevate the poor ? If the stripes must still be inflicted, the debates referred to are little better than the drummer's controversy with the soldier as to what part of the back should bear them first, or the controversy of the prisoners in a wreck as to who should be first eaten. But the question as to how the physi-

cal and moral state of our country may be elevated, is one of the first importance, and deeply interesting to every Christian and patriot.

One scheme has no doubt been proposed, by which to bring the whole question to a close at once, both in its essence and details, viz. by abolishing all laws which give the poor any right to relief. This is the plan of Sir George Sinclair, who in a pamphlet of much eloquence, and containing a number of valuable facts (but I fear containing little practical wisdom), gives the following as his mature opinion:—

“I am, therefore, of opinion, that Scotland can only be saved from ruin, both in a moral and economical point of view, by abrogating the *right* of the pauper to *demand* relief, whilst leaving to every parish the authority to raise an assessment (whenever they deem such a plan indispensable for the maintenance of the destitute and infirm), and allowing to the rate-payers the unfettered right of laying out their own money in their own way, without control or interference from any other quarter. Unless such a measure be speedily adopted, Scotland will, ere long, be reduced to the condition of distress, or rather of despair, which is now overwhelming Ireland; and to which some districts of Scotland are already beginning to approximate.”

Such a proposal is of course entirely inadmissible, and not worth reasoning about. A right on the part of the “impotent poor” to be relieved, which has stood in Scotland for three centuries, and which is as good both in reason and law as that of the proprietors to their estates, cannot and ought not to be done away. But suppose it were done away, how would that cure the evil? It might enable (unless the very attempt caused a revolution) the wealthier classes to escape from the poor rates—it might enable Dives to “clothe himself in purple and fine linen, and fare sumptuously every day,” heedless of the groans of Lazarus; but it would not abolish pauperism. No doubt it is alleged that this is the old Scotch system, and that this was Dr Chalmers’s plan. This is a complete mistake. There has been a law in Scotland for the relief

of the poor precisely the same with that of England (with one important exception) since 1579, and that law was only rendered practically inoperative by the diffusion of Christian instruction. And this is the point in which our Scotch aristocracy—although in this I would except Sir George Sinclair — willingly misunderstood Dr Chalmers. They clutched at the idea of paying nothing for the poor, but they forgot the means by which this result was to be reached. Because of the hardness of men's hearts, there must needs be a poor law. As Mr Shiel once said in the House of Commons, it is easy to speak of the "fountains of charity," but they are often "frozen, and require to be broken up by the hammer of legislative authority." Dr Chalmers wished to change, by Christian means, the briars and thorns of our depraved human nature into vines and fig-trees, and then he promised our landlords good fruit; but they forgot this part of the process altogether, and, driving him and his plans out of the Establishment, expected to gather the grapes off the thorns, and the figs off the thistles; and now, unless a speedy change takes place, they bid fair to receive a dreadful punishment for their folly and wickedness in not knowing the time of their visitation. The great matter is to force our way through all these details, and *get at the essence* of the evil. Why are the people sinking in beggary and crime? That is the question. Now, it is plain that whilst there are great moral causes powerfully operating to produce pauperism—there are causes of a physical and legislative kind also at the root of our social evils. There must, amongst other plans, be a bold movement on the part of the middle classes to undo certain erroneous legislation, which has had the effect of weighing down our vessel to the water's edge, and threatening to sink her, but which must be removed if our country is to be saved. Let us, then, consider:—

I. Causes tending to make paupers and criminals.

II. Causes tending to induce men to continue paupers and criminals when they are once made so.

III. Evils of the recent Scotch poor law.

1. Causes tending to make men paupers and criminals.

Under this head, I include—

(1.) The *inefficiency of our present means of religious instruction*, especially in the crowded districts of the land. I speak not now merely as a Free Churchman, but as a man interested in the prosperity of our common country. This branch of the subject, however, has been so fully expounded by Dr Chalmers, that I shall not dwell upon it. A very good little treatise upon it has also just been published by Mr Tasker. From the best statistics I can obtain, I am persuaded that, whilst we are debating, one half of our youth are growing up in brute ignorance. We need a vast increase of schools, and the whole hospital property of Scotland, amounting in Edinburgh alone to perhaps £2,000,000, ought to be devoted to this object. Great masses in all our cities are also living and dying in heathenism, and heathenism and beggary are synonymous terms; and although it has been proved that, by the energies and contributions of Christian men, much may, by the blessing of God, be done to reclaim them, very little is being done for the purpose. I am delighted, however, to observe, that our brethren of other denominations are taking up the matter in earnest, and that a successful effort, on the Westport plan, for reclaiming one of the worst districts of Aberdeen, has been made by our Independent brethren there.* The place seems to have been previously a den of iniquity, and yet the following testimonies are given to the success of the effort.

Sheriff Watson, at a meeting of the Aberdeen Prisons' Board, held lately, said :—

"It was an interesting fact, that in Albion Street, where there had been a theatre of the lowest description, and which did great evil, a neat chapel had been built on the very site where the theatre once stood, Sabbath-day services and week-day meetings were conducted in the chapel, and great good had been done."

Mr Barclay, superintendent of police, says :—

"I am happy in being able to state, that since it was erected in that most depraved and destitute locality, the moral character of

* See an interesting tract, entitled *City Missions and how to Work Them*, by James H. Wilson, Editor of the *North of Scotland Gazette*.

the district has been very much improved. Numerous instances are known at this office, in which persons who were habitually given to intemperance, debauchery, and crime, have been reclaimed. [Here Mr Barclay gives the particulars of several remarkable cases.] Taking the whole matter into consideration, and especially the fearful scenes that occurred in the low theatre that occupied the site where the chapel now stands, I cannot but conclude that the institution has been of the greatest public benefit, reflects the highest honour on its promoters, and well would it be for the community if twenty such chapels were established in Aberdeen. To the originators of this unpretending but most important scheme of moral and religious improvement, the poor people in this district express themselves as being under the most lasting obligations; and I have only to add my own high sense of the value of such a cause, the benefits of which we have so signally felt, and to express my hope that it may long be blessed to do yet greater things for the vicious and destitute of this city."

And a Police Officer, who had formerly borne testimony to the degradation of the district, observes:—

"After taking a view of the past, and looking to the present state of things in Albion Street, how cheering is the contrast! On that very spot [referring to the theatre] now stands a neat little chapel, where God is worshipped, where prayer is offered, and praise sung by the lips of one of the most orderly, quiet, and attentive set of people that ever assembled within the walls of any church; ay, in not a few instances, by lips, too, that had formerly, on the same ground, blasphemed the name of God. How gratifying is this to the mind of every Christian and lover of humanity!"

It is most refreshing to find a catholic-spirited man of another denomination, like Mr Wilson, exclaiming—

"Let John Wesley be our model now, and Dr Chalmers our preceptor. We want to see the sagacity of the one, and the large-heartedness of the other, predominating in every Christian church."

Were this spirit to spread amongst the Dissenters of Scotland, the axe would be laid to the root of many of our social evils, and especially to the root of pauperism; and without this all other means will prove abortive and vain.

(2.) A leading cause of the present rapid increase of pauperism is undoubtedly *the prevalence of whisky shops and of drunkenness*. This view of the subject has also been fully explained of late, and I do not intend to dwell upon it. "The drunkard shall come to poverty," says the Scripture, and the following statistics are surely sufficiently alarming as regards Scotland.*

I.—*Consumption of British Spirits in 1841, when the last Census was taken.*

In England, 0·51 gallon, or upwards of half a gallon per head.

In Ireland, 0·80 „ „ three-fourths of a gallon per head.

In Scotland, 2·28 „ „ two and a fourth gallons per head.

* * The cost, at ten shillings a gallon, being to each family in Scotland, upwards of *five pounds nineteen shillings*.

II.—*The number of Spirit-dealers and Retailers during the same year.*

In England, nearly one for every fifty-two families.

In Ireland, „ „ eighty-four families.

In Scotland, „ „ thirty-one families.

III.—*The number of Houses under £10 of rent Licensed to retail Spirits.*

In England, nearly one for every hundred and ninety families.

In Ireland, „ „ hundred and twenty families.

In Scotland, „ „ forty-eight families.

Drunkenness is pre-eminently the curse of Scotland—the amazement of all foreigners—the manifest parent of many of our social evils.

Bailie Gray tells us, that of 2700 paupers in Edinburgh, 2000 were made so by drink; and the same thing will be found true of crime. When one of the managers of the poor at Liberton, I got from the Excise an account of all the whisky sold annually in the parish. I found that it amounted to 9000 gallons, being nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ gallons to each individual, or about L.4500 spent in drink—proving that an assessment of that amount would only have supplied the people with drink,

* See Dr Macfarlan's *Bible Temperance*, p. 69.

without giving them any food or clothes at all—and that as long as such an enormous source of waste exists, the pouring in of money will no more cure the evil than the pouring in of oil will quench a fire. Apart from other plans of remedy, and especially of a great change in our “drinking customs,” I am convinced that two things would do great good—the sweeping away of a vast number of whisky shops altogether, and the annual publication of the statistics of drinking. In regard to the first, its efficacy has been proved on a large scale in America, where public drinking has been nearly banished. One blushes for his country in returning from America,—temptation and drunkenness at every door. It is vain to say, as long as men want drink they will get it. The great matter is to get quit of a vast amount of active temptation created by the existence of hundreds of families whose very maintenance depends on the success of their efforts to sell drink. If men are sent abroad with pitfalls in every direction, no wonder if many of them fall in. Let the pits be filled up as fast as possible. And, in regard to the statistics of drinking, they could be easily procured, and would be of great importance. Every gallon of whisky that enters a whisky shop is marked by the Excise, and Parliament could order an annual return to be published, and probably would do so if our rulers were not wickedly anxious to swell up drunkenness for the sake of revenue. There ought to be a public whisky barometer, if I may so speak, like a public rain gauge, by which men could mark the rise and fall of the tide, and trace the connexion in any particular district between drinking, pauperism, and crime. Meantime, I am happy to find the friends of temperance becoming more practical in their measures. The efforts of magistrates to diminish the number of low tippling-houses are worthy of all commendation.

(3.) Another leading cause of pauperism and crime is the present *frightful physical state of the poorer districts of our large cities*. This is a matter which seems to have attracted the benevolent attention of Dr M’Gill nearly forty years ago. I find, in his *Remarks on Prisons*, the following

passage :—" Will I not be pardoned for expressing my ardent wishes, that those who may be able to remedy the evil would give attention to the condition of those wretched hovels which the labouring classes in great towns are obliged frequently to inhabit? Pent up in the narrowest and dirtiest lanes, in houses damp, confined, airless, crowded and huddled together, more like places for cattle than men, they breathe a foul and putrid air, and lose all spirit and desire for cleanliness, decency, and order. The effect of such circumstances, not only on the health and comfort, but morals and character of the people, is great. Those habits of decent neatness, so important not only to comfort but to dignity of mind and a maintenance of character, are lost because the opportunity of forming or maintaining them is not given. The woman loses the desire to please, and sinks into a slattern. Home affords few inducements to a husband after the labours of the day. His family presents a scene of filth and disorder—spiritless and unhappy, he is tempted to seek abroad the comfort which his own dwelling cannot give, and habits of drinking not unfrequently complete the wretchedness of his condition. If such be the effects on the parents, need I enlarge on what must be the state and comfort of children?" The effect of great physical degradation in producing pauperism is also noticed by Dr Charters, a vigorous minister of the last generation, who says, "Affection, both parental and filial, is chilled by want —'the hind calveth and forsaketh her calf, because there is no grass.' Under the pressure of poverty, a mother may forget her sucking child—the child that is forsaken, or sent out to beg, or to wander, or forced to labour prematurely, retains no affection for a destitute parent." Now, any one who will candidly examine the state of the poorer districts of our crowded cities, will see that, making all allowance for other causes, there is a great physical cause at work, producing wholesale the evils of which we complain, and that, in connexion with all the efforts of Christian Churches, this evil must be removed if we would elevate the masses.

Pauperism, crime, fever, are just so many streams from

the same foetid marsh of crowded and neglected human beings piled and huddled together in the centres of our large cities. It is but a poor philosophy which, with its mop, would try to stem and dry up these streams, whilst nothing is done to drain the marsh itself. We must go boldly to the root of the evil. We must try to dry up, or at least to cast salt into the fountains of bitterness themselves, and thus heal the waters. We must clear and thin out the tangled forest which harbours the obscene owls and venomous serpents, and then there will be some likelihood of securing the object at which we aim. And, having done something in this direction, let us at the same time be endeavouring to direct the victims of crime and poverty to nobler views and sources of profitable employment, and, by bringing our waste land and our waste labour into contact, let us at once diminish the poverty and increase the resources of the nation. Thus we shall, in so far as mere material means can, assail the whole evil at both ends, in its root and branches, in its fountain and streams, and we shall effectually pave the way for more hopeful efforts on the part of the Church of Christ.

From the Report on the sanitary condition of the labouring population of Britain, it is stated, that "THE MOST WRETCHED OF THE STATIONARY POPULATION OF WHICH HE (Mr Chadwick) HAS BEEN ABLE TO OBTAIN ANY ACCOUNT, OR THAT HE HAS EVER SEEN, WAS THAT WHICH HE SAW IN COMPANY WITH DR ARNOTT AND OTHERS IN THE WYNDY OF EDINBURGH AND GLASGOW."

Now it is a striking fact, that the great seats of poverty, disease, and crime, are precisely the same—viz., the festering and crowded centres of our cities. To begin with fever in Edinburgh. The following is an extract from the Report of the Directors of the Infirmary, lately published:—

"Confining themselves to Edinburgh, they find that the total number of fever patients of the previous year amounted to 2952: that of these there were 2749 on the south side (or in the Old Town),

and only 203 in the New Town. In the Canongate, and streets and closes adjacent, there were	251
In the Cowgate, and closes and wynds adjacent	866
In the Grassmarket, Westport, &c.	734
And in the High Street, and closes and wynds adjacent	512

Making in all . . . 2363

and leaving only 386 for the remaining parts of the south side of the town."

Let my readers ponder this remarkable extract. Here we have forty-eight more fever patients produced by the Canongate alone than by the whole New Town put together. We have *more than four times* as many produced by the "Cowgate, and closes and wynds adjacent," than by the whole New Town. We have 2363 fever patients in the central mass of heathenism, and only 589 in all the rest of the city put together. This not only amply confirms our statement, and exposes the community to great public expense in upholding the Infirmary; but the great mass of these victims of disease who die, leave children or others destitute. Hence also a fruitful source of ragged and neglected children, and of a rapidly-increasing pauperism. For it is quite certain (although, unfortunately, there are no exact statistics kept with this view at the Workhouse) that the great mass of pauperism is generated in the same district. Dr Adams, chief inspector of the city poor, Glasgow, in a recent pamphlet, says, "I was for many years physician to the Canongate Public Dispensary, an extensive medical charity, having for its field of operation the *foci of Edinburgh pauperism, viz., the Cowgate, Canongate, High Street, and Grassmarket.*" The same results I have discovered in regard to crime. On going to the prison, I found a map of the city with a black patch over the districts referred to, like the darkness of Egypt, whilst all the surrounding districts were light, like the land of Goshen; and I found that for 1846 there were no fewer than 1864 criminals from the High Street, Castle Hill, Lawnmarket, Canongate, Netherbow, Cowgate, Grassmarket, Westport, Candlemaker Row, with

the closes adjacent, being *more than 60 per cent of the entire criminals*. Here, of course, is again an enormous source of expense and evil of every kind. So that the same district might be marked upon the map with the yellow shade of disease, the grey shade of pauperism, and the black shade of crime; and to illustrate the expense of this, it may be stated, that the Infirmary of Edinburgh costs about L.10,000 a year, the poor L.27,000, the prisoners about L.11 each per annum. Bailie Gray calculates that every male head of a family that dies of fever, subjects the poor's-fund to an expense of L.50.

Now, let any one go into this region and examine it, and he will see what a frightful mass it is. Let him take any close at random. I went the other day with a friend to refresh my recollection of a scene with which at one time I was more familiar. We entered a very narrow and filthy wynd. We plunged into a black opening, more like the mouth of a coal-pit than the entrance to human habitations; and, after forcing our way up a dark, ruinous staircase, redolent of damp and pestilential vapour, we reached the uppermost flat, and opened a door. We were nearly knocked down by the horrid vapour by which we were assailed, and were glad to get a bundle of rags torn out of the broken window, to secure a mouthful of fresh air. We found two mothers and a number of children inhabiting this miserable apartment, for which 1s. weekly was paid. There was one bed of rotten straw in the corner for the whole inmates; and we found that this was only one of six houses of a similar kind on the same stair-head, and that each flat had as many, making the whole population of this wretched and ruinous tenement to be greater than that of a considerable country village. Besides, this was only one of multitudes of similar receptacles of filth and fever, crowded and wedged together in the same narrow and dirty lane, and that lane only one of many. From an evening inspection, along with Dr Bell and Dr Gunning, of the low lodging-houses also, I saw still more clearly the amount of this frightful source of evil.

The first idea that must have struck any one was, that there could be no wonder if crime, fever, and pauperism spread in such localities. And yet it is only a sample of what is found in abundance in all the large cities of Britain. These human beings were in far more uncomfortable and wretched circumstances than any sensible farmer's cattle. My pigs at Liberton, luxuriating in clean straw, and breathing the pure air of heaven, were as gentlemen in comparison. No man in his senses would force his cow into such a pestilential den. And then, when disease enters such dwellings, how horrid to think of the sick and the sound huddled together ! When death cuts off a member of the family, how dreadful to think of all the rest forced to eat and sleep beside the dead body ! We drag a dead horse out of the stable of the living ; but here such a separation is impossible. How can we wonder that human nature, in such circumstances, is found at the lowest point of degradation, defying ordinary means of cure, and spreading moral as well as physical evil like a pestilence ! A decent man comes from the country, driven, perhaps, by want of work. He is obliged to take one of these wretched houses. Let us suppose that he has been accustomed to the decencies of society, or even that he is a true Christian. How dreadful to have his children, like Lot in Sodom, exposed to the sound of blasphemy, and the example of every form of wickedness ! Their society is corrupted to its very core. City missionaries go their rounds in despair. Oceans of soup and floods of water are lavished in vain. The managers of infirmaries, the keepers of prisons, the masters of charity workhouses, stand aghast at a tide flowing from such a corrupted mass, and which, instead of being driven back, is continually rising, like the prophetic waters, and threatening to sweep all that is sound and healthy in the community away. Every one who reflects on the changes which have recently taken place in Edinburgh, must see one great cause of the evil. Multitudes of houses have been swept away at the top of the Lawnmarket, at George IV. Bridge, and especially at the Low Calton, and yet scarcely one new tradesman's house

has been built. There is the same population, but, of course, living in far less room, wedged and crowded into filthy cellars and windowless garrets—festerling masses piled and heaped together, and spreading disease and crime in every direction. I was lately reading the journal of an American traveller, who, after seeing the most degraded districts of the filthiest cities on the Continent, declares that he saw nothing any where like some of the closes of the High Street and Canongate of Edinburgh. The state of Glasgow is not better. And yet the people pay large rents for this miserable accommodation; but the result is most ruinous in every respect to soul and body; and especially it seems a kind of triumph of Satan to surround a multitude of human beings with circumstances so repulsive as to deter the systematic approach of any but the most Howard-like benevolence.

Now I do not say that the mere breaking up of these festerling masses will cure the evil; but most assuredly it will greatly alleviate it, and it is essential to the hopeful application of any probable means of cure. Let large openings be made; let, for example, the one side of every one of these dense closes, running out of the High Street, Cowgate, Canongate, &c., be torn down, and in its stead let a decent and comfortable tenement of tradesmen's houses be erected in the suburbs, and an immense step in the right direction will be taken. Even the old tenements that are left would be greatly improved by this process. But the mere taking down of old buildings would make matters worse, without the erection of new and better ones. The result of demolishing old buildings hitherto has just been to crowd and wedge the population into smaller space, and thus increase the evil; but if new and better houses were at the same time erected in the pure air of the suburbs, and if poor men could get good houses at moderate rents,—if character were the test of admission, and not mere money,—if no drunkard or Sabbath-breaker were admitted,—there would be an opportunity of doing what a shepherd does in a similar case—separating the diseased from the sound, as well

as holding out an efficient premium to good behaviour on the part of the sober, struggling, working man. We would stud the outskirts of the city with such home colonies of working men, and thus effectually break up the central mass of vice and crime. Besides, we have on all sides of the city open spaces for the health and recreation of such colonies, and for bleaching their clothes—a great desideratum in the present narrow closes, and the want of which is, no doubt, a cause of increased disease. We have the Meadows on the south side, which ought assuredly to be thrown open ; and Princes Street Gardens on the north, plundered from the poor without compensation,* but which, as the period of prescription is not expired, they may as certainly reclaim as the road through Glen Tilt. We have the Heriot grounds between Edinburgh and Leith, a portion of which should undoubtedly be set apart for the benefit of the community; and we have also the Calton Hill, and the Royal grounds, encircling the whole masses of the Canongate and Pleasance. Let the matter only be perseveringly gone about as already begun, and as there is no city in the world with a fairer outside and a more loathsome interior than Edinburgh, so it will be found that there is none with more splendid sanatory capabilities.

Other cities are labouring hard, and at great expense, to get what Edinburgh possesses as her own property, if our citizens had only justice. In London they are buying up parks at the public expense; in Manchester similar efforts are being made; English noblemen have been giving parks to some of their most crowded manufacturing cities; and at Glasgow a plan has just been started for buying 150 acres of land in addition to their noble Green. Suppose, as soon as these advantages are obtained, that some one attempted to deprive the citizens of those places without compensation, how would such a proposal be met? The question requires no answer. Why, then, should we tamely allow the labouring classes of Edinburgh to be jostled aside to make way for cattle, or to be excluded from gardens unquestionably their own by iron gates? If these rights belonged to any indi-

* See Appendix, No. I., p. 65.

vidnal, would he thus simply surrender them? Why, then, should this great body called "the public" of Edinburgh, with its thirty-three guardians, allow itself to be worse treated than a single man would be without a guardian at all?

The whole community are interested in the restoration of those rights; and, if they are not restored soon, they are in danger of being lost altogether. The health of the poor and working classes is involved, and in that their social well-being. The rich know what is necessary for health to their families, and provide gardens and means of cleanliness accordingly. Go to the richer portions of any city—see the open spaces of our New Town, for example—and, though it be only at present through the iron bars, see the children enjoying themselves in Princes Street and Queen Street Gardens, and you will behold what is equally necessary for the children of the poor. It would be well to see the decent tradesmen's wives and children again admitted to the same advantages. Mr Chadwick affirms that the wynds of Edinburgh are amongst the filthiest he "has ever seen or heard of;" and yet many of these formerly opened on the now enclosed gardens of Princes Street. It is proved that for every case of fever in the richer districts of the town there are six in the poorer, and that, humanly speaking, this could be cured by sanatory means. Humanity cries aloud, therefore, for their adoption. It has been proved that if men were as anxious about the health of human beings as of cattle, the evil would be cured. No sensible farmer would have his stable in such a state as the houses of some of our people; but then, fortunately, when a horse dies a new one must be bought, whereas when a man dies a new one can be got for nothing. And yet the present is a most extravagant as well as intensely cruel system. By perpetuating filth in the houses, men are driven to the bright and shining whisky shops. Decent women, who might make their bread by washing, are driven to the poor's funds. The present system is the parent of fever; and as men cut down by disease leave their children on the parish, fever is the

parent of pauperism; it cankers the very roots of society, by placing an unnecessary gulf between the rich and poor; it presents a most formidable obstacle in the way of missionaries and Christian men in exploring the dens of ignorance and cruelty; and, as contrasted with the sweet and pleasant abodes of criminals and "sturdy beggars," it operates as a direct bounty upon crime and idleness. There are many senses in which "cleanliness is next to godliness."

In regard to the miserable homes of the poor, I am confident it would be cheaper not only to pull down some of the wretched pest-houses of which I have been writing, but to build others at the public expense. But the new houses would pay well as a pecuniary speculation, especially if built at present, as is clear by the example both of London and Glasgow.* If the rich will not attend to these things, they must just be content to pay for their criminal neglect.

(4.) But one of the greatest causes of pauperism in Scotland has been *the locking up of the land of the kingdom in a few hands* by artificial laws, so that we see at once an enormous accumulation of WASTE LAND, and at the same time of WASTE LABOUR. This has long attracted the attention of the politicians of surrounding nations, who have confidently predicted, that unless an immense change in this respect took place, Britain would in the long run sink in pauperism. The nobles of Scotland contrived at the Reformation, after using the influence of Knox to upset the Popish Church, to seize on the whole Church property except in so far as new noblemen were created out of those enormous spoils. This land they retain to the present day, and all their struggles have been for the purpose of retaining it. Their hollow support of the Covenanters turned out to be merely for the purpose of saving their Church lands, with which Charles I. was anxious to endow the hierarchy. The common people of Scotland hated Episcopacy on the ground of principle—the nobility on the ground of pelf; and hence, at the restoration of Charles II., the old nobility all turned round except Argyll. Lauderdale, who had

* See Appendix, No. III., p. 79.

been appointed a Commissioner to the Westminster Assembly, was ready to wade knee-deep in the best blood of Scotland. Not only have these men always retained their power, but by the laws of entail and primogeniture, they have made it impossible that their lands should be alienated from their posterity, and even till 1748 the power of "pit and gallows," of imprisoning and hanging without judge or jury, existed on every Scottish barony. Hundreds of thousands of acres still belong to single families, and of course the resources of the kingdom are not half developed, for "a great proprietor," as Adam Smith says, is seldom "a great improver." Nay, the small proprietors are being swamped by a rapid process, and their lands swallowed up by a few leviathan landlords. The soil of England, which in 1815 was held by about 30,000 proprietors, belonged to EIGHT TIMES AS MANY ONLY FORTY YEARS BEFORE. Mr Laing estimates the number of estates in Scotland at about 3000; but were entails put an end to, and the laws of succession altered, and the property divided according to the ratio of Norway, *the number would be about 90,000*. What a noble race of resident proprietors would this make! And a sensible writer has justly remarked, that "in countries where land is held by a great number, the government has nothing to dread from revolution; but in those where the property is in the hands of a few, the danger is always imminent." The experience of America, of Hungary, and even of Greece, illustrates the vast social importance of abolishing all restrictions on the transference of land. Professor Masson of Belfast, who spent twenty years in Greece, has kindly given me the following statement:—

"The kingdom of Greece, in proportion to the number of its inhabitants, contains as few paupers as any country in Europe. Perhaps it is the only country in the world in which it may without exaggeration be said, that it has more *Minstrels* than *Mendicants*. The right of primogeniture has no existence in Greece, and the idea of introducing it would appear to the Greeks monstrous. The peasantry are sober, cleanly, industrious and provident. The eagerness with which they avail themselves of the existing facilities to become

proprietors of even a small portion of land, is very striking. The President Capodistrias showed that he knew the true and only source of national tranquillity and national prosperity, in saying that he hoped to see the day when every Greek citizen should be a *landed proprietor*, as well as the possessor and reader of a Bible. That is true conservatism. A Greek cottage is usually a home of peace, comfort, and moral propriety—it is also a school of industry, but certainly not a *ragged* school. In regard to the sobriety of the Greek people, it is with feelings of no ordinary nature that I add, that, in returning to my native land, I beheld within one month more hideous displays of drunkenness in our own Presbyterian Scotland, than I had seen amongst the Greeks for twenty long years.”

Such important experience ought not to be lost upon us, and every effort ought to be made to bring about a similar result in our own land. This would be worth all other previous temporal reforms put together. It is utterly preposterous to listen to short-sighted proposals for sweeping the land of its inhabitants. If our affairs were well managed, we have too few people. A great cry is got up in favour of emigration, and that there are too many people in the country, and some of our great proprietors, being also jobbers in Colonial land, do every thing in their power to clear away the people, so as both to rid themselves of the fair duties of landlords here, and improve the gains of their speculations yonder. The monstrous evil of our present home arrangements was not much felt so long as we had a trade with foreign nations continually progressing—so long as capital was employing labour on a vast scale in the making of railroads, and especially so long as Europe was at peace. But no sooner has the foreign market begun to fail—the making of railroads ceased, and the distant sound of war both deranged our commerce and threatened to interrupt the importation of corn—than it is plain either that our own soil must be set free from the fetters of an old feudal system, which has all along been a curse to the country, or our middle classes must be eaten up by masses of paupers. Every thing has been done to conceal this fact; but it is

one of the most important that the people can know, and to every intelligent man it is plain as noonday.

Scotland has in great abundance the very same undeveloped sources of wealth with Canada, or most of our colonies; her vast peat-mosses might be turned into as fertile a source of fuel as the transatlantic forests; and her vast quantity of uncultivated land affords a better field for colonization than most of the British provinces. This land has been locked up for ages in old feudal families, who, "like the dog in the manger," neither develop its capabilities nor make way for others; whilst, considering the hardships, the fever and ague, the want of means of grace, to which Canadian colonists are exposed, as contrasted with the easy postage, the near markets, the comparatively good climate, the means of grace and education of our own country, with the circumstance that it is their native and beloved land,—we can imagine no better field of colonization for Scotchmen than Scotland itself. It is a most erroneous idea to imagine that Scotland is cultivated to its utmost limit, and that nothing remains for the surplus population but banishment. We are told by inspired wisdom that "in the multitude of the people is the king's honour," and that "the profit of the earth is for all," and it is outrageous policy to banish the people merely to bolster up a most ruinous and artificial system, which excludes them from the soil of their native country. Great pains, no doubt, have been taken to prove that Scotland is overpeopled, and people imagine that the Highland Society would have exposed this fallacy had it been one. But the Highland Society is chiefly an association of landlords. "Of the 2658 members," says the *Gardeners' Chronicle*, "there are only 220 whose names and addresses indicate that they are tenant farmers," and, at all events, the fact that three-fourths of Scotland is lying waste is perfectly certain. The following table, which I have prepared, exhibiting the actual state of the case, is worthy of special study:—

STATE OF THE LAND OF SCOTLAND.

Counties.	Acres.	Cultivated.	Uncultivated.	Not Arable.	Expended on Poor in 1848.		
					£	s.	d.
Aberdeen	1,270,740	300,000	450,000	520,740	30,710	3	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
Argyll	2,432,000	308,000	600,000	1,524,000	13,907	12	4
Ayr	1,024,000	292,000	300,000	432,000	26,507	18	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Banff	320,000	120,000	130,000	70,000	9,843	6	11 $\frac{3}{4}$
Berwick	285,600	160,000	100,000	25,600	8,945	6	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
Bute	165,000	60,000	40,000	65,000	1,567	0	2
Caithness	395,680	70,000	75,000	250,680	5,155	2	2
Clackmannan ...	30,720	22,000	5,000	3,720	2,782	18	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Cromarty	39,690	20,000	5,000	14,690	<i>See Ross.</i>		
Dumbarton	147,200	70,000	50,000	27,200	6,579	18	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Dumfries	1,152,000	212,000	320,000	620,000	14,437	13	8
Edinburgh	230,400	181,000	20,000	29,400	67,526	12	6 $\frac{3}{4}$
Elgin or Moray	537,600	120,000	200,000	217,600	7,899	18	1
Fife	322,560	200,000	85,000	37,560	22,736	5	11 $\frac{1}{4}$
Forfar	537,600	200,000	220,000	117,600	29,701	13	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Haddington ...	160,000	100,000	30,000	30,000	9,017	1	7
Inverness	2,944,000	500,000	750,000	1,694,000	13,084	0	9 $\frac{3}{4}$
Kincardine	202,870	110,000	50,000	42,870	6,264	16	9 $\frac{1}{4}$
Kiurross	53,120	30,000	10,000	13,120	964	9	5
Kirkcudbright	564,480	110,000	200,000	254,480	10,354	18	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
Lanark	556,800	220,000	195,000	141,800	124,089	18	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
Linlithgow	71,680	50,000	10,000	11,680	4,923	7	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
Nairn	128,000	70,000	30,000	28,000	1,300	4	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Orkney and Shetland }	848,000	220,000	112,000	516,000	2,368	5	2 $\frac{1}{4}$
Peebles	230,400	104,000	80,000	46,400	2,168	4	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
Perth	1,656,320	500,000	550,000	606,320	22,126	19	8 $\frac{3}{4}$
Renfrew	154,240	100,000	20,000	34,240	34,058	4	3 $\frac{3}{4}$
Ross	1,775,830	301,000	545,000	929,830			
Ross and Cromarty }	13,819	11	11
Roxburgh	457,600	200,000	100,000	157,600	12,743	2	4
Selkirk	168,320	85,000	30,000	53,320	1,595	10	6
Stirling	312,960	200,000	50,000	62,960	12,848	8	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
Sutherland	1,122,560	150,000	600,000	372,560	3,803	3	7
Wigton	288,960	100,000	100,000	88,960	9,512	15	2 $\frac{3}{4}$
Totals	20,586,930	5,485,000	6,062,000	9,039,930	533,362	15	6 $\frac{3}{4}$
			Add for buildings		10,971	12	0
			TOTAL		544,334	7	6 $\frac{3}{4}$

From this it appears that of the 20,000,000 of acres in Scotland, only about 5,000,000, or *one-fourth*, are cultivated. Taking the population of the country at 3,000,000, and the families at an average of *five* individuals each, there are thus *thirty* acres of land for every family, of which *one-half* is arable. Now, in Belgium, from *four* to *five* acres of land is, by spade husbandry, made sufficient to support a family.

In such circumstances, it seems perfect folly to drive some of the very best of our people out of the country, and to suffer multitudes more to sink into hopeless pauperism. What is the effect of that system of banishment? Why, to drain off some of the very best of the common people, the men of character and small capital,—others do not go, and are not worth sending,—but men whose settlement here, on our waste lands at home, would absorb all our surplus labour, and greatly diminish all our burdens. If such a stretch of waste land as we have at home were found in any of the colonies, efforts would immediately be made to fill it up. Why should this not much rather be done in Scotland? I myself have passed through all our American colonies, and I ask what a man can get there which is not to be found at home, if we had only energy enough to overturn—of course only by argument—our present preposterous system of land tenure. He will find a far worse climate, and a tangled forest redolent of fever and ague, an absence of good society, and great dearth of the means of grace. If the land here, instead of being locked up and kept in forcible barrenness, were to be bought and sold as easily as in the colonies, there would be no comparison between the position of a settler at home and abroad. No doubt it may be said that much of our land is poor. So some of it is, but much at present waste is most capable of cultivation; and even in regard to very poor land, it may be answered in the eloquent language of Thiers, in his late work on the *Rights of Property*—

“Go to Holland, and look at these green and fertile pastures covered with flocks and herds; you would commit a strange error if you supposed that nature produced that soil, so fresh and rich. Thrust a stick into the earth, and three or four inches below you will find barren sand. That thick grass which is converted into milk, and then into cheese, and which under this form travels over the globe, has been grown upon a soil entirely of artificial creation.” “Man carries fertility with him; wherever he appears the grass shoots up, the seed germinates. It is because he has his own person and his cattle, and because he spreads wherever he settles the fertilizing mould. Go into the sands of the Landes or of

Prussia, and as soon as you perceive glades in a forest of pines, and in these glades fields of corn, you are sure before long to discern smoke and the roofs of a village. If this village be of considerable size, the surrounding land is better cultivated, more fertile, and produces better crops. Compel men to shut themselves up within a certain space, which they do spontaneously from the desire of not removing from the spot where they dwell, and they find the means of living on the same extent of land, however numerous they become, because by fertilizing it still more by their presence they succeed in raising a more abundant produce.

"If, therefore, we can imagine a day when all parts of the globe will be inhabited, man will obtain from the same surface ten times, a hundred times, a thousand times, more than he raises now. What reason have we to despair when we see a vegetable mould created on the sands of Holland? If he were compelled for want of room, the sands of the great desert of Arabia, of Cobi, would be covered by the fertility that every where attends him. He would form terraces on the slopes of Atlas, the Cordilleras, and the Himalayas, and you would see agriculture carried to the steepest summits of the globe, and stop only at those lofty heights where all vegetation ceases. And, if no spot then remained uncultivated, he could live on the same extent of surface by continually increasing its fertility. Let us banish these puerile anxieties," &c.

Far more may all this be done in Scotland; but in order to this, the land must be unfettered, and it will be found that when matters are left to their natural course, all men are anxious to become proprietors of land, and will soon improve it. Beaumont, a celebrated French writer, says—

"The soil is in France the great object of ambition among the working-classes. The domestic servant, the day-labourer in the country, the manufacturing workman, toil with the sole view of acquiring a small piece of land, and he who attains that object so much coveted, becomes not only materially more happy, but morally better."

Before 1789, France had a population of 24,000,000, but seldom produced food enough to feed them, and that very poorly. Since the old feudal system has been abolished, notwithstanding the evils of popery and infidelity, from which

all her social miseries since have sprung, France feeds amply 34,000,000 of people by her own produce. It is quite certain that we could do the same if we did not allow foolish laws, made by men long since in their graves, to operate as a lasting curse both to the nation and families. For Adam Smith justly remarks, that "nothing can be more contrary to the real interests of a numerous family than a right which, in order to enrich one, beggars all the rest of the children."

It would be a noble thing to rear up a new race of independent farmers, and, better still, of independent lairds, and to cultivate every inch of land at home so far as is possible. If our country is to prosper, we must, in the long run, fall back upon this, which is the substratum of all stability. To call ourselves the manufacturers of the world will not long be of much avail. The world is rapidly learning to manufacture for itself. And there is this vast difference, that whilst manufactures will probably, after a little, always be getting worse, because more precarious, land, if cultivated, will always be getting better. Living in the country, besides, is far more conducive to health and comfort, and presents at least fewer obstacles to the promotion and enjoyment of Christianity, than working in the pent up and steaming workshops of a large city. "God made the country," says the poet, and

"In ancient times the sacred plough employ'd
The kings, the awful fathers of mankind;
And some, with whom compared your insect tribes
Are but the beings of a summer's day,
Have held the scale of empire, ruled the storm
Of mighty war; then, with unwearied hand,
Disdaining little delicacies, seized
The plough, and greatly independent lived."

The direct bearing which the law of entail has upon pauperism has often been explained, and especially in an able work entitled *The Aristocracy of Britain*, containing extracts from celebrated French writers, and published by Mr Tullis of Cupar, and in an excellent pamphlet attributed to Dr James Buchanan, entitled *Free Trade in Land*; and I have

transferred to the Appendix an extract from an able pamphlet by a *Scotch Proprietor* on the Law of Entail, as it works practically, illustrating in a very striking way how a beggar proprietary pauperizes a people like a perfect scourge, according to the statement of Solomon: "A poor man that oppresseth the poor, is like a sweeping rain that leaveth no food."*—(Prov. xxviii. 3.)

The law of primogeniture ought also to be abolished, not to give way to the French system of compulsory division of land, which is an equal error on the opposite side. A man ought to be allowed to dispose of his land as freely as any other part of his property, although, when he makes no will, all his property should be equally divided amongst his children; and it would be found in practice, that, whilst some are disposed to scatter, others are disposed to accumulate, the operations in both cases being natural and beneficial. The enormous expense of conveying land ought also to be put an end to, by overturning the feudal system of conveyancing. Why should not a man be able to buy and sell a piece of land as easily as a coat or a hat? The present system is most cumbrous and expensive. I know an instance in which a process of conveyancing on a piece of property worth about L.80 will cost L.20. A friend of mine lately asked an American lawyer what the cost of conveying an estate there was? He answered, "If you engage a lawyer, it will cost you five dollars; but if you can trust yourself to describe the property accurately, it will cost you half a dollar to put the conveyance on the register." My legal friends will be startled; but why should something of this kind not be substituted for our vast, cumbrous, cabalistic, machinery of paper and parchment? The *Times* newspaper lately said—

"In the United States there is a register, so in France, so in Holland, so in Belgium. In these countries the natural consequence is, that the land will fetch sums varying from four to fourteen years' purchase more than in England. Surely this is not a consideration to be disregarded by landowners. A measure which should screw

* Appendix, No. VII., p. 89.

up the value of their property by one-tenth in the market is not to be lightly regarded by those who are so unceasing in their complaints of the unfair burdens to which they are subjected. The tendency of the age is to put property on a level, so far as the nature of things will allow—to equalize burdens—to admit no privilege—to suffer no restrictions. The pity of it is, that real property is mainly in the hands of country gentlemen, and *they are in the hands of their solicitors, who are not very likely to permit any change in a system by which they are so largely benefited.*

“There is, however, no real difficulty in this case. Sir Matthew Hale says, that ‘dealing in land ought to be free as all other kinds of dealing.’ Chief Baron Gilbert and Mr Justice Blackstone adopted the same view. Committees of lawyers have reported to the house that a system of registration was imperatively demanded.”

No doubt it may be said that we have a register in Scotland. So we have; but our system of conveyancing is by far too cumbrous, and our registration by far too complex and expensive. If our people had sense enough to stand up and demand such substantial reforms as I am now referring to, there would be no difficulty in bringing a vast additional quantity of the land in Scotland (and, of course, more easily still), in England and Ireland, into cultivation. The present state of things is every way most injurious to this country, and even to the proprietors themselves. The mere relaxation of the law of entail has already begun to set free a small quantity of land. If it were altogether abolished, and a man left to do with his land as he can do with his furniture, the waste land would soon be laid open and reached by the spirit of enterprise. We all know that vast districts in Sutherland formerly supported multitudes of men, who have been driven out to make way for cattle; we know what vast improvements were made by Sir Walter Scott on a piece of neglected land in Selkirkshire; and every district of the kingdom presents a field for enterprise and energy, especially since the discovery of the magic effects of draining, subsoil-ploughing, and enclosing. It is a common notion, that the mass of the unimproved land of Scotland is incapable of cultivation. Now, I am well aware

that, beyond a certain height above the sea level, the land cannot be cultivated with advantage; but there are vast tracts, both in the great sheep walks of the south of Scotland, in the midland districts, and even in the Highlands, to which this objection does not apply. These could be covered with smiling villages, and made to abound with corn and cattle; and why should the foolish and wicked laws of men be allowed to defeat the wise and benevolent designs of God? The more this is looked at intelligently, the more, I am persuaded, will it approve itself to sensible men. Cities do not feed themselves—they do not provide their own fuel: this must be done from the country. Besides, to multiply tailors and shoemakers is only to cut out existing tradesmen; for here there is a very limited demand. But the demand for food and fuel is a daily demand, and is only limited by the numbers of men, and is, in fact, the very demand with which you are dealing in cases of pauperism. A crowd of hungry persons say, "Give us food to eat." This is the very problem; and if we can teach them to produce food for themselves upon the present waste lands, the object is gained in the best possible way. It is unwise to say, "Go to the colonies." We have 6,000,000 at least of improvable acres of land at home; there is here (unlike Ireland) the most perfect security for life and property, and the people cling to their native soil. Let but the restrictions upon the sale of land be done away, and our influential men set themselves to the work, and we shall soon see, not only our idlers employed, but a large crop of new proprietors and farmers. Labour, instead of being a drug, will come to be at a premium. A vast impulse will be given to railways and to all trades; and so long as we are an importing country, the competition will be only with foreigners. To prove the practicability of cultivating our waste lands by our spare labour, I could give many instances; but take only a few; and first, the case of the late eminent Dr Duncan of Ruthwell. The following interesting letter is from his son:—

"Peebles, Feb. 23, 1849.

"MY DEAR SIR,—You ask me for an account of the means

whereby my father, the late Dr Henry Duncan of Ruthwell, brought his glebe and pleasure grounds to the state of fertility and loveliness in which you remember to have seen them. This I shall accordingly endeavour, as briefly as possible, to do.

“When my father became incumbent of the parish of Ruthwell, he found the glebe, extending, as it does, over nearly fifty acres, in a deplorably neglected state. The soil consisted for the most part of moor, and the whole was either overgrown with whins, or soaking and sour with a marshy moisture, which little or nothing had been done to drain away. To remedy this state of things, he lost no time in subdividing the land, so as to adapt it to the then new mode of cropping, dug ditches of sufficient depth, planted fences here, threw up dykes there, and drew drains from year to year across the worst parts of the sullen fields, till they became every where capable of culture by the plough. The turf, when necessary, he caused to be shaved off to a considerable depth, and after a number of square enclosures had been erected, by means of the most solid of the sods thus obtained, in different parts of the field, the lighter ones, accompanied by masses of thick clay, which abounded in some parts of the glebe, were cast in, and the whole was consumed by means of fire introduced at the openings from below. Never shall I forget the peculiar, and to me now delicious perfume, exhaled from these smoking heaps over the whole district for miles around. The ashes thus formed were afterwards spread over the land, and ploughed in along with lime. I well remember vast accumulations of *compost* which were also turned to good account, nor were there wanting, of course, in the spring season, the ordinary appliances of dunghill manure. Recourse was had to all sorts of experiments in agriculture, the results of which were successively recorded in the *Dumfries Courier*. For ornamental grounds, about five acres were reserved immediately around the manse. These, I have always understood, formed the most unsightly portion of the glebe when my father took possession of the living. Yet, by dint of planting, trenching, top-dressing, tasteful arrangement, and incessant labour, to say nothing of expense, it became at last what you, perhaps somewhat hyperbolically, styled it the other day, ‘a perfect paradise.’ The garden, covering a space of two English acres, intersected by numerous nicely-trimmed beech hedges, abounding with shady walks and odoriferous howers, and skirted here and there by clumps of flowery shrubs—such as the lilac, laburnum, and rhododendron—was at first little better than a *cold marsh*. The

smooth lawn, now dotted with umbrageous trees, was then a wilderness of stones and gigantic weeds; and the mimic lake, with its promontories and receding bays, adorned with rustic bridges and weeping willows, &c., covers what was once a stagnant and offensive *moss-hag*. The gravel walks which traversed the pleasure grounds extended at one time to upwards of a mile. So much labour as all these improvements implied, enabled my father for a considerable period to give constant employment to not a few of his parishioners, who otherwise would have been a burden on the poor's funds; and by this, along with other means, *he contrived to stave off an assessment much longer than, but for this, could have been done*. On the other hand, he was more than rewarded by the satisfaction of watching the gradual development of his plans, and the increasing luxuriance and fertility of his fields and gardens, and still more by the assurance that, in seeking his own advantage and amusement, he was contributing very materially at the same time to the economic well-being of a poverty-stricken and much neglected population.

“Warmly sympathizing with you in your views for the amelioration of the miserable condition of so large a portion of our fellow-countrymen, and earnestly desiring for you complete success, I remain, my Dear Sir, yours very truly,

“W. W. DUNCAN.”

The question naturally occurs, Why should not this interesting experiment be repeated a thousand-fold? Dr Duncan was in the habit, after exhibiting his lovely place, which had been made to smile by the blessing of God on his own energy, to take his visitors to the extremity of the glebe, and make them look over the wall to the unbroken barrenness of the surrounding waste. And so we may justly look around with astonishment on our tracts of improvable land, and at the same time on our starving people and on a capital of half a million annually thrown away on pauper idlers, without any return. In all parts of the kingdom Dr Duncan's experiment could be successfully repeated.

The celebrated Robert Haldane performed an experiment similar to that of Dr Duncan, but on a much larger scale, on a piece of remarkably wild land in my native parish in Lanarkshire, and took great interest in exhibiting the result; and, pointing across the road to the unimproved

wastes of the Duke of Hamilton, was in the habit of saying, "That is *entailed* land; this is *unentailed*."

I have before me an account, for which a prize was given to the late Provost Blaikie by the Highland Society, of an experiment made in the way of reclaiming waste land on the estate of Pitfodels, near Aberdeen, on the Stonehaven road. It was a barren moor, yielding no return. The proprietor encouraged persons to settle as tenants, by building cheap houses in the first instance, and giving some other aid. At the time the account was written, 223 acres were producing good crops; a population of 231 souls were maintained; the whole face of the country was greatly improved, and rents were received amounting to L.358 : 4 : 6 a-year. It is understood that, when the experiment is complete, the rental will be L.750 a-year, equal to a capital of at least L.16,000, created out of a mere waste, whilst, at the same time, employment and food have been given to multitudes of human beings. The following extract from the recent letter of an intelligent minister of Caithness to a friend in Edinburgh, contains a cheering description of what energy might do every where. He is journeying along the east coast of Caithness towards the late meeting of Synod at Golspie, and is passing through the parish of Latheron, and he says—

"There was one spot in that huge parish at which my heart thrilled with delight. Yon may, perhaps, remember the appearance of the rugged and rocky, but naturally dry, heathery land, which lies on both sides of the road, and stretches from the hill-sides down to the shore as you draw near towards the Parliamentary Church at Berriedale. It is most untoward in appearance, but it belongs to Mr Donald Horne, a gentleman not accustomed to succumb before difficulties; and he has for some time past been, I was informed, employing upwards of eighty men in trenching, and, as it was phrased to me, '*making land fit*.' One band of forty-three stalwart fellows, stripped for their work, and armed with picks and spades, and crossbars and mattocks, were advancing in regular order. I have seen a volunteer corps not have their front dressed much better, and waging victorious war against the rocks and stones

and heather. And sure am I that it was far more pleasing to see them thus transforming barrenness and deformity into fertility and beauty—to see them thus honourably sustaining themselves and their families, increasing the resources of the district, and making provision for the sustentation of future generations, than it would have been to see them, with all the pride, pomp, and circumstances of glorious war, engaged in taking the lives and destroying the works of their fellow-creatures. The portion which has been trenched is full of stones and huge boulders, that, in many wide spaces, not a foot-breadth of earth can be seen for them; and it will take not much less to remove them off the surface after they have been dug up as it took to dig them. One spot of six square yards cost L.6. The men quitted their work for the night just as I came past the place, and I walked on a good way conversing with them. They were most grateful to their employer, who, they told me, does not confine his employments to his own tenants, but humanely extends it to those of a neighbouring proprietor, who has not lifted a spade or a mattock in his extensive estates. By these operations Mr Horne will not only beautify his picturesque estate, but, I trust, permanently improve it.”

If all our properties were in such hands, who does not see that our waste labour would speedily be absorbed, to the great advantage of all parties? I am told, that in Ayrshire Mr Rigby Wason has been extensively improving on the wastes of Colmonell, and that on the estate of Cally in Kirkcudbrightshire extensive improvements are also going on. But the most remarkable case that I have heard of, as illustrating and proving all my positions, is that of an intelligent Glasgow merchant, who lately bought an estate in Islay, and from whom I had the account myself. The Highlands have hitherto been reckoned the most difficult part of our social problem, and yet no portion of our country illustrates more clearly the wickedness of our laws and of some feudal proprietors. Formerly, a multitude of armed men were supported by every Highland chief for his own glory and that of the clan, who held all the lands in common. But when this system was broken up, after the Rebellion in 1745, the chiefs seized the land, and either systematically drove the people away to the colonies to make

way for sheep, or drove them down to the sea-shore to maintain a starving and precarious existence by means of fishing. Bred a warrior, the poor Highlander was unused to the arts of civilized life, and, even if it had been otherwise, the land of his fathers was now taken from him by a hard-hearted chief resident in London. The Highlander has a noble natural character, but he has been first ill-used and then abused. That even amongst the mountains men may live, and live well, is plain from the example of the Swiss, who amidst their mountains make watches for Europe, whilst they carry on a vigorous husbandry. And so would our Highlanders have done, had they only got justice. They live in comfort in Canada and Nova Scotia, where I have seen thousands of them. And in Lewis, where they have always got more justice than in most other districts, they have always been comparatively comfortable. There are large tracts in the Highlands capable of the highest cultivation, if, instead of being in the hands of impoverished landlords, they were in the possession of men of capital. Well, an estate in Islay lately got into the possession of a Glasgow merchant, who stated to me the following particulars. He found it an extensive waste, with 700 or 800 of a starving population. He set about improving; told the people that unless they worked they should not eat, but that he would pay them for work. At first they were slow to learn, but the first year he got 16 acres drained and improved; the second year about 100 acres, producing as good crops as in Midlothian. His stacks increased from about 30 to upwards of 100. Last year they improved 180 acres. Now mark the result. The landlord expects to realize a large per centage (perhaps eight per cent) on his outlay. The people are getting into most comfortable circumstances. At last reckoning, instead of getting rents from them, they received from him about £150 of a balance due for work. The schools were never nearly so well attended. The people now buy tea and sugar, and every necessary comfort by means of their own earnings. Cattle are fattened on the land—a thing new in the Highlands—and

sent in that state to market; and this gentleman is confident that if the whole of Islay were dealt with in the same way, it would not only pay for the capital expended on it much better than railway shares, but instead of starving 15,000 or 16,000 people—the present number of inhabitants on the island—it would maintain in comfort 100,000 people, and thus more than absorb what are ignorantly supposed to be the surplus inhabitants of all the Hebrides. We are confident that if Skye, and many other districts that we have seen, were subjected to a similar process, the same results would follow.

The natural arrangement would be, that men who make money by merchandise should expend it in the purchase and improvement of land. And, if we had hundreds of energetic merchants with capital applying their means to our neglected soil, instead of many of our present feeble and poor proprietors, the most important social results might immediately be anticipated. By and by the people on the spot would acquire capital, and become landlords; and till then they would get plenty of work. A “lang pedigree” would become less valuable, no doubt, but ten fingers would become more so. Why, then, should not this manifest line of conduct be adopted? Any one who has been in America must have been struck by the absence of beggars, and the spirit of universal enterprise. We have similar undeveloped capabilities, fitted to last at least for a century, in Scotland. Besides, the result would be most conservative and beneficial to all. Such a process would at once create an increasing home market for our merchandise and manufactures, give profitable employment to railways, raise up a large class of men having a permanent stake in the country, and thus greatly under-prop the tottering social fabric. We have by far too few proprietors of land in Scotland, and hence one great source of danger. In America, every traveller must have been struck with the tone of respect for property and existing institutions which prevails, simply because every man has a stake. Here a great mass are desperate, as having no stake; little to hope for and no-

thing to lose, they are sunk down to the bottom of the wheel, and they hail any movement which may raise them, but cannot depress. I remember once being struck with seeing the servants of a noble Duke reading a violent infidel and communist paper, under the very shadow of his splendid castle. Little do our great men know what a weak fence is now around them—how unwholesome a state of society exists when the high and the low stand at such a scowling distance from each other, the middle class of small proprietors being annihilated—how dangerous are some of even those masses of servile and idle functionaries that have lately sprung up, and who have no stake in the country—how tenfold more dangerous are those neglected masses that crowd the centres of our large cities—and what a delightful spectacle, on the other hand, it would be to see a fresh and vigorous yeomanry springing up on every side of them, as a wall of fire around all that is worth preserving in our land!

This, however, is only one outlet. I am confident that another upon a large scale would be found in the improvement of our abundant fisheries, and another still in the production, from our exhaustless mosses, of *peats* for fuel. Moss is just coal in the process of formation, and peats would be eagerly bought in our cities if they could be had cheap; and I am confident that in their production many hands might be profitably employed. In America, a vast population is employed in preparing wood for fuel to the cities. So long as coals cost 10s. and 12s. a ton, it does not appear why peats might not be prepared in greater quantities at a much cheaper rate. There are great mosses on the lines of all our railways. There is a splendid moss, for example, between Falkirk and Alloa, through which the branch of the Scottish Central passes. It covers, besides, an excellent alluvial soil, which, on the removal of the moss—by turning it to profitable account instead of floating it into the sea, as at Blair-Drummond—would come into profitable cultivation. Old men and children could prepare peats for fuel. If they were sold at 6s. a ton, and could be brought

to market for 2s. or 2s. 6d., there would be 3s. 6d. or 4s. of profit on each ton, and there is no reason why there should not be covered sheds, or even an artificial drying process, as there is abundant fuel on the spot, so that the operations might be carried on during the whole year. Peats form an admirable and economical fuel, give a powerful heat, do admirably mixed with coal, and keep in a poor man's fire when coals would let it go out.

On this subject I have received an interesting communication, of which the following is an extract:—

“Since I took up my residence in Edinburgh, from experience I have gained a considerable amount of knowledge regarding the condition, both of our wretched, indigent, and able-bodied poor; and therefore hail with the greatest pleasure the lead you are taking in seeking to amend the condition, physically and morally, of the latter. In combination with sound instruction, nothing will tend more to raise the moral standard among that class, than to teach them self-respect, and a spirit of honest independence. Your proposed plan for bringing in waste land and mosses is admirable. As to *peat* as a fuel, I can testify from experience to its comfort and economy. Having spent the years of my childhood and youth among the Grampians, a few miles distant from a moss, well do I especially remember the nightly piling of the winter evening fire. First, a large peat was placed in the middle and front of the grate (not the hearth); next, a few pieces of Scotch coal; and above all, a quantity of English coal, well saturated with water. This formed a most comfortable fire (quite free from smoke), around which a happy group gathered to spend the evening, working, reading, and singing by turns. Should your suggestion be acted upon, I will use it, and induce all within the reach of my influence to do the same.”

I know that many people at present live by the production of such fuel in the neighbourhood of Glasgow. They do so, or at least did so also formerly at Dumfries and Paisley; and I lately spoke to a man who finds it profitable to drive peats about twelve miles, viz. from beyond Pennycuik to Edinburgh. And if the matter were gone about upon a large scale—a proper level for draining the entire face of a large piece of moss first made—proper sheds made for carrying on the drying processes, so that the operations might proceed during

all the year—our labouring classes would have abundant fuel at half price, an immense source both of revenue and comfort would be opened up, besides improving the climate of the country, and preparing an additional field for profitable agricultural operations.

By such means, if put into vigorous operation, our spare strength would soon be absorbed, and the value of labour increased, as in America; and this is, in fact, the major part of our problem. Coupled with this, there is a very obvious way of enriching such land with the refuse of our large cities. From a calculation which has been handed to me by an intelligent man, it is quite manifest that the enormous waste at present in all our cities of the most valuable manure, is much even beyond what one would imagine—as much as would far more than pay our whole police assessment, greatly enrich the country, and disperse a fruitful source of malaria and fever.

It is quite certain that the poorest land on the line of a railway could thus easily be enriched. There is as much waste manure in all our cities as waste labour. See the barren sands of Craigintinny converted into land worth from L.30 to L.50 a-year for every acre, by the mere flooding of them with the waste manure of Edinburgh. It is quite certain that as much more is floated at present into the sea and lost, both from Edinburgh and Glasgow, as would enrich like a garden hundreds of thousands of acres of poor land. Thus the refuse of our cities, both human and material, would be turned into vast sources of national wealth.

A very important paper, read before the London Society of Arts by Dr Ayres on the 4th of April last, is worthy of special attention. It will be found in the Appendix.*

In short, we have the means of wealth lying every where around us, if our statesmen were not *judicially* blinded, and our people very limited in their own views. Our case is precisely that of the man who said to his son, that gold was hid in his land if he could only discover it, and that he would be sure to discover it if he would only trench over

* Appendix, No. VIII., p. 93.

the whole surface. The son obeyed his orders, always looking in vain for the gold. At length the enigma was solved in the abundant harvest of grain. So, in like manner, if our small statesmen would only abandon their petty squabbles, and deal in a manly way with the real interests of the country,—if they would force their way through the cobwebs of mere detail, and grasp general principles,—we should soon find a California at home, a means of absorbing all our idle and starving people, and, in the too probable event of war, the means of maintaining our population in comfort. This would be a thousand times better than mere general discussions about the right of able-bodied men to become beggars. Such a right would be both degrading to them and ruinous to the community. The practical sagacity of John Knox steered our nation clear of this tremendous rock. Lord Cuninghame justly remarked in his late judgment, that “It is notorious that the Scotch Parliament cautiously refrained from passing any such enactments, and *the wisdom and benefit to the community of following that course have been approved of and applauded by almost every statesman and writer who has had occasion to consider the polity of the two nations in their system of relief for the poor.*” Able-bodied beggars would soon become able-bodied slaves, like the degraded clodpoles of England, for the “borrower is servant to the lender.” But a mass of middle-class proprietors is what we want to give a healthy tone to our country—to employ our spare labour—to create a home market for the produce of all our cities—to develop the resources of our country—to give employment to our railways—to assist in bearing our national burdens—and to convert what is at present a growing curse into a growing and universal blessing.

The carrying out of this object besides, would solve a multitude of other important problems which can be solved in no other way. It is in vain to speak of financial reform so long as the present system continues. A law which gives the eldest son the whole estate, necessarily creates as many aristocratic as democratic dependents. These must also

be provided for at the public expense. Hence the hosts of commissioners, colonial bishops, governors. "In England," says a French writer, "where large properties exercise so much influence in elections, every opulent person naturally becomes the object of ministerial solicitude. Does he control the votes of a burgh or a county? is he by that means owner of a seat in the House of Commons? Let him ask and nothing will be refused him—church livings, court favours, sinecure appointments in India and in the colonies—all are at his disposal." We may argue against this result; but we may as well argue against the law of gravitation so long as the present state of things continues. Besides, even if the crowd of idlers that at present live at the expense of the nation, could be disbanded without any provision being made to absorb them in the land, the process would be most dangerous, and would either eat up the middle classes by increased poor's-rates, or lead to a revolution. If our financial reformers are really in earnest, let them strike at the plain root of the evil. The problem of ragged schools also can only be solved in the same way. What is to become of these children, gathered by the benevolent efforts of my friends Sheriff Watson and Dr Guthrie, after they are taught? That is the pinching question. To make them ordinary craftsmen is only to ruin the existing trades by a competition kept up by public charity. To send them to the colonies, is both a great and a foolish waste of money. But to those engaged in reclaiming our wastes they would be truly valuable, and in cultivating the land at home, they would compete only with foreigners so long as we are an importing country, and they would be trained to the most noble, natural, and healthy employment.

If the arrangements to which I refer were vigorously carried out there would be comparatively few poor, and it is remarkable that they are the very means adopted by our statesmen themselves when the case becomes desperate, and feudal folly is forced to give way, as in Ireland. Mr Poulett Scrope, M.P., long and very ably urged the adop-

tion of such means in vain. The same remedy for Irish poverty was lately powerfully proposed in a pamphlet by William Bridges, Esq., who states the following amongst other facts, which seem to have told on Sir Robert Peel himself:—

“ In his ‘Ireland before and after the Union,’ Mr Montgomery Martin states, on very good authority, that Mr Stuart French of Monaghan had reclaimed 300 acres of mountain land in four years, and raised its value from 2s. an acre to 35s., and the entire cost was repaid by the crops in three years. Mr Reade of Wood Park, county Galway, reclaimed 500 acres of moorland and mountain; the cost was repaid by the crop of the second year, and the land formerly worth 2s. 6d. an acre, now pays 20s. per acre annually. This same Mr Reade, who has made the experiment on a large scale, and can speak from experience, says there are 128,000 acres of such reclaimable wastes in Galway, where thousands have died during the past year, and many are now dragging out a miserable and useless existence. Mr Coulthurst, in county Cork, reclaimed a bog farm, for which the tenants could not pay 4s. an acre. The expense was repaid before the fifth year, and the land is now rated, at the Poor-law valuation, at £4 an acre. Sir Charles Sligh, Bart., located the surplus population of his estate in Donegal on the waste lands, and assisted the poor farmers to cultivate them. He gave up his rents for two years; and permanent employment has been found for six times as many persons as the land could formerly support, and its produce has been multiplied tenfold.

“ Mr Martin is a man of facts and figures. Let us now quote a few sentences from an author distinguished in the category of logical and economical philosophy—Mr John Stuart Mill. In his lately published ‘Political Economy,’ this writer observes, ‘The detailed estimate of an irrefragable authority—Mr Griffith—annexed to the Report of Lord Devon’s Commission, shows nearly a million and a half of acres reclaimable for the spade and plough, some of them with the promise of great fertility, and about two millions and a-half more reclaimable for pasture; the greater part being in most convenient proximity to the principal masses of destitute population. The one and a half million of arable land would furnish properties averaging five acres each to three hundred thousand persons, which, at the rate of five persons to a family, answer to a population of one million and a half. Suppose such a number

drafted off to a state of independence and comfort, together with any moderate additional relief of emigration, and the introduction of English capital and farming over the remaining surface of Ireland would cease to be chimerical."

These plain common-sense plans are now to be attempted—and although in Ireland the doctor comes in only when the patient is dying—and although the remedy will have to struggle against a frightful system of Popery, which deadens the spirit of enterprise and destroys moral feeling, making life and property insecure, it promises to meet with immediate success. I have transferred to the Appendix a prospectus of a "Freehold Assurance Association for Ireland," which has just appeared, conceived in a truly practical spirit.* The only wonder all this while is, that similar measures should not be vigorously demanded for England, with its vast crown and other lands running to waste; and for Scotland, with its 6,000,000 of available acres, and a people sinking in poverty, although second to none in the world for energy and enterprise. Such a proposal, however, is not to be expected from mere politicians till it is too late. Whigs and Tories are equally unlikely to propose it for obvious reasons. It must come from, and be urged by, the middle classes, who are now suffering, and it would assuredly go far to cure the evils under which they are groaning. The press must urge it. I am happy to find not only our own distinguished Hugh Miller on this side, but that two of the most intelligent editors of Glasgow papers, Messrs Troup and Somers, have pressed this plan on the attention of the noble merchants of our commercial metropolis, and, I trust, with some effect. But it is very difficult to get mere townsmen to understand such a question in all its bearings. It is to be hoped that the approaching Convention of Delegates from all parts of Scotland will fairly face it, and give forth a clear and articulate deliverance.

I do not say that such measures would altogether destroy pauperism, for "the poor will never cease out of the land," but the number would be comparatively small. I am one

* See Appendix, No. VI., p. 87.

of those who imagine that pauperism could easily be made the exception and not the rule. The example of other countries demonstrates this. The example of Scotland itself, where for generations the poor law was rendered inoperative by moral means alone, demonstrates it. But not only may the great mass of our poverty be traced to our own foolish legislation, and would it speedily vanish before the introduction of a more rational system, I proceed now, in the

II. place, To prove that our mode of dealing with crime and pauperism, instead of abating tends to foster and perpetuate it after it is introduced.

It is admitted on all hands now, that our policy in regard to crime has been preposterous. But if men had taken the word of God for their guide, instead of the vagaries and nostrums of infidel visionaries, denying the depravity of human nature, and imagining that the evil spirit would be charmed out by mere acts of kindness, they might have saved themselves from enormous expense, and the community from enormous evils. "A whip for the horse, a bridle for the ass, and a *rod for the fool's back*," says infallible wisdom. The application here recommended is not by any means so costly, and far more simple and effectual, than our palace jails; and our authorities, taught by dear-bought experience, are beginning to resume it. But this is an age of great self-conceit: it is continually lauding its own wisdom and penetration; but its actual character will be written by an impartial posterity. It has one remarkable feature—the greatest amount of its sympathy seems to be reserved for criminals and "sturdy beggars," and it has done almost nothing for industrious honest men. It deals but feebly with effects, and not at all with causes. It makes splendid hotels at vast expense for criminals, in the most airy situations, and with every appliance for the production of comfort. I was told in a provincial town, that a question was raised between the magistrates and one of the government officials, as to whether the prisoners should have *one or two pair of slippers!* in addition to all their other comforts. In a late number of an Edinburgh paper, it was stated that the most successful

specimen of ventilation in the kingdom is in *the new Police Office*. The following is an extract from this glowing description :—

“The most complete and successful experiment of ventilating that has come under our notice, is that adopted in the new police buildings.” A description is then given of the plan for securing “*Fresh air properly heated and cleared of all impurities :*” “*a constant renovation of air is thus produced, the exhaled air being regularly withdrawn and replaced by fresh air.*” This “*warms and ventilates*” “*the cells and corridors,*” and so forth.

Very little, so far as I know, has meantime been done for the struggling poor and working classes, except to saddle them with a share of all this expense. No, I am wrong. Splendid sepulchres have lately been made to bury them in, all around our cities, after they are dead. If the dead could breathe fresh air, the object might be gained; but, meantime, masses of the living are crowded into places little better than sepulchres, and the splendid gardens are reserved for cattle, a few favoured citizens, and the dead. What is the practical effect of all this, but to place a bounty on idleness and crime? I do not say that the filth of our former prisons should not have been done away—that several things in the way of prison reformation, although after a different fashion, ought not to have been done—but it is clear that the other must no longer be left undone. The other, in fact, should have been done first; and if it is not now done at all, what is it but to say to the labouring population, “If you are hard-working, honest men, little or nothing will be done for you; nay, you may be stifled and starved for any thing your rulers care; but if ye are thoroughly indolent, or tear up (as some do) your floors for firewood, and sell the very doors of your houses for drink, and tear the lath off your walls to make *spunks*—if you are guilty of theft and riot—you shall dwell in a palace with the purest air, and every comfort and convenience.” Every man of observation must have seen that such a state of things, instead of being a “terror to evil doers,” forms a plain bounty on crime; and so it has turned out, and our sapient authorities are beginning to discover

it. It is, in fact, a curious way of punishing a man, to give him grand furnished lodgings at the public expense. It is a far greater punishment to society that pays the bills than to the criminals; and no wonder that the furnished lodgings are crowded, and that there is a rush of competitors for places. At length the eyes of our very wise men are beginning to open, and the good old-fashioned plan of Solomon, which modern wisdom had discarded, is coming again into fashion. The rod is being administered again to the young "fool's back," and gradually society will creep back again to common sense, after being well punished for its folly and infidelity. The Sheriff of Edinburgh, at a recent meeting, made the following statement:—

"The benevolence of Howard, I believe, in its brightest visions of the future, never contemplated what we now deal with as the routine of everyday business. The pestilential horrors which were the shame and terror of those who preceded us not long ago, are not only obliterated, but have been replaced by almost luxurious comforts, which may prove to be our difficulty as well as our boast. For when I see charity-hospitals being built like palaces, and managed with all the bounteous warmth of affluence—when I consider that the cell of the convicted felon is cared for daily, *with a scrupulous anxiety that is not to be found in the economy of our best regulated hotels*—I am troubled with misgivings about a system, on the one hand, which rears in a delicate and factitious atmosphere the boy who, as a youth, must meet the pelting of the hardest storms of life, and a system, on the other hand, under which crime may be tempted to reflect how easily it can, by the very excess of its depravity, secure the blessings of thorough ventilation, steady temperature, and perfect cleanliness, which are entirely beyond the reach of honest industry and struggling virtue."

The system is, in fact, utterly at variance with the character of punishment, and has been thus justly characterised by Lord Denman:—

"I greatly dread the effects of giving them benefits and privileges which they never could have hoped for but from the commission of crimes. I own myself extremely jealous of the gratuitous instruction of the young felon in a trade, merely because he is a felon, and the displacement of the honest from employment, by his success in

thus obtaining it. Perhaps this is the most important branch of criminal law ; for the age in question is that at which the habits are formed, and the path of life is chosen. I hold the only legitimate end of punishment to be, to deter from crime ; but I think I perceive in some of the theories of benevolent men, such a mode of administering the criminal law as to encourage instead of deterring." —*Appendix to first Report, Lords*, p. 3.

Posterity will characterise this folly as it deserves. Suppose a gardener were to take all the weeds—the docks, nettles, and thistles—of his garden, and place them along the warmest wall, and in the finest soil, and surround them with the richest manure, he would be a fit object of ridicule if he expressed any astonishment at finding a rank and luxuriant crop of them. And so our empty boasts of intelligence and progress are ludicrous, so long as we merely dabble with the streams of evil, without dealing with the fountain—nay, so long as we absolutely foment and increase the evil by partial and short-sighted legislation, and then wonder at the fruits of our own folly.

The palace system has also begun to be introduced in the management of the poor. Grand buildings, called work-houses, but which, in fact, will be found houses of sloth and wickedness, and kept up at prodigious expense, have begun to be erected in Scotland—houses ten times better than those in which the mass of the industrious people live, and than those inhabited by a multitude of the rate-payers. This is an importation from England, where I have examined the system, and seen the greatest abuses flow from it. For it is not merely the grandeur of the accommodation, the abundance of the food supplied at the public expense, the splendid "airing grounds" about which our commissioners are so anxious (see Third Report), and which all strikingly contrast with the state of the industrious working men, and thus form a premium to sloth, that makes the mischief. But these houses are not, and cannot be, a fair means of testing poverty, according to the present plan. It is said that, under such a system as now exists, there must be a test of destitution. Granted. But willingness to go into a public

palace, and live comfortably, may only prove that a man is willing to live idly at the expense of his industrious neighbour. It may be said, however, we will give them work in this prison, and in the jail. Now, here the very pinching point of the whole argument is found. What work can you give them in a cage that will not interfere with ordinary industry, and thus make men establish a ruinous competition with themselves by public taxation? Will you make them bake, brew, make or mend clothes or shoes, weave cloth, make cabinet work? What will you make them do in a mere cage that will not cut out ordinary handicraftsmen? You are, therefore, driven up to this alternative, either to let them go idle—which is the general result, and a most ruinous one—or to employ them in the cultivation of land, which would imply the breaking up of all your pauper and criminal establishments, and the removing of your troops to the country. There they would improve the soil, produce their own food, enrich the country, and compete only with foreigners, and an effectual test would be applied by which to detect and punish idleness. Accordingly, this is what our intelligent neighbours in Holland have done. The maxims adopted at Hamburgh, in dealing with the poor, should also be hung up in the parlours of all our boards of guardians; viz. :—

“THAT EVERY ALLOWANCE WHICH SUPERSEDES THE NECESSITY OF WORKING, BECOMES A PREMIUM TO IDLENESS—THAT LABOUR, NOT ALMS, SHOULD BE OFFERED TO ALL WHO HAVE ANY ABILITY TO WORK, HOWEVER SMALL THAT ABILITY MAY BE—THAT ONE SHILLING WHICH THE POOR MAN EARNS DOES HIM MORE REAL SERVICE THAN TWO WHICH ARE GIVEN HIM—THAT, IF THE MANNER IN WHICH RELIEF IS GIVEN IS NOT A SPUR TO INDUSTRY, IT BECOMES, IN EFFECT, A PREMIUM TO SLOTH AND PROFLIGACY—and that, if the mere support of a pauper is above what any industrious person in the same circumstances could earn, idleness will become more profitable than industry, and *beggary* a better trade than the *workshop*.”

To illustrate what I mean, I will take a case of a parish in the west of Scotland, which has just built what is called a

workhouse. The cost of the building is about L.4000, the annual price of a very small piece of ground, L.20. The house is to contain 300 paupers. Now, there is no conceivable thing which these paupers can do, after they are cooped up in this place, except either interfere with the work of their neighbours, or live idly and luxuriantly at the public expense; and at that rate I predict that three or four more palaces will soon require to be erected. In this same parish large tracts of most improvable land are to be found, with ample supplies of moss for fuel. Perhaps a farm of 200 acres could have been got for the sum already expended, and the paupers would soon have been made nearly self-sustaining. If the new workhouse also at Dalkeith had been set down in Middleton moor, and if the Edinburgh workhouse were taken out to Carnwath moor, the same object would be accomplished. Every new acre thus brought into profitable cultivation would be a distinct gain; and the national burdens would be lightened by increasing the shoulders made to bear them. Paupers forced to sustain themselves, and taught to do so, would tire of leaning upon others; and the young paupers, accustomed to the healthy occupations of husbandry, might not only become self-sustaining at home, but would make by far the best colonists abroad.

It is vain to say that this could only be done by able-bodied paupers. The rough work could be done by able-bodied criminals, who might be employed in the first instance, as pioneers of the enterprise; but even old men and women, as well as boys, could do a good deal of work if the matter were properly managed, and all they did would do themselves good, and be so much gain, instead of throwing away an annual capital of L.500,000 without any return.

The Dutch, it is certain, have had industrial colonies, both for criminals and paupers, since the year 1818, and with perfect success. I find on investigation, that in establishing them they argued most soundly. The fact that a mass of persons bordering on crime and destitution began to increase in Amsterdam, as they now do in Edinburgh and Glasgow, arrested the attention of benevolent and intelli-

gent individuals, and especially of Major-General Vanden Bosch. He had commanded at Java, and learned the art of cultivating waste lands from the Chinese, who are great adepts in that art; their law, which would take our feudalists by surprise, being, that if any land is waste, any man who will take and cultivate it shall have it as his own. Vanden Bosch suggested, that if some of the waste lands of Holland were reclaimed by this waste labour, something might be produced by which these idlers might at least be supported; and, at all events, they would be kept out of the way of crime. The matter was taken up with spirit. The shrewd Dutchman, I find, argued in this way—and every argument is applicable, nay stronger, when applied to our case: “Holland is still an importing country; therefore, to the extent that it does import articles of first necessity, it is better to grow them within itself than purchase them in a foreign market. Manufactures require large capital, but not so farming. A spade costs little, and the ground is ready: and, even although nothing of exchangeable value may be produced, the people themselves may live in some share of comfort by their own labour, and the money at present lavished unprofitably, may effect a reaction in the diseased and exhausted body politic.” Accordingly, a society was established at the Hague in 1818, the object being to colonise waste lands in such a way as to make the paupers manufacture their own food and raiment. They purchased several hundreds of acres of waste land, and the experiment has been extended, and is remarkably successful. Various accounts of these operations have been published, and especially three in the *Industrial Magazine*, by Mr Bond of the Patriotic Society, who has done much to enlighten Scotland on this subject; but it would be well to send a deputation of our own authorities to examine the matter in all its details. The first report is from a field-officer, after a personal inspection. He says that the food was “plain, but abundant,” and the “houses clean and comfortable.” Referring to the statement of another traveller, that the “crops of rye, clover, flax,

potatoes, buck-wheat, raised on barren land both in the pauper and penal colony at Wortel, in Belgium, were very fine;" this field-officer says, that those he saw at the Dutch colony "were in a better state than those at Wortel." All this has been accomplished in a locality naturally most unpromising; for I am told that the soil and climate are not naturally better than those of Carnwath moor. The second report, by J. Ross, Esq. of Berbice, Inverness, to government, gives a fuller and equally favourable account. And in the number for June 1848, we have an account by Lord Blantyre of a visit paid to these colonies in March last year, which I have transferred to the Appendix,* and which demonstrates the practicability of the plan. I have also placed in the same Appendix most sensible letters from Dr Aiton and others on the subject.† If the plan of employing the able-bodied prisoners as mere pioneers in breaking up waste lands, to be afterwards cultivated by more feeble paupers, be objected to, another has been proposed by Mr C. Pearson, M.P., of having a criminal agricultural prison, and it is demonstrated‡ that prisoners thus employed would produce easily twice as much food as they and their keepers could consume. Why should not the surplus be given to aid in maintaining the paupers? And why might there not be, as a friend of mine has suggested, in connexion with every such prison, extensive grounds upon which discharged prisoners, who were anxious to regain character, might be employed as labourers? In regard to both classes—although they ought never to be confounded or mixed up in any other way—one thing is plain, that there is at present a vast unproductive outlay; nay, an outlay which powerfully tends both to foster pauperism and crime. And if the L.500,000 a-year at present lavished upon the poor without any return, could only be made *half* to repay itself; in other words, if only one half of it could be saved to the rate-payers, a vast good would be gained, besides arresting the progress of pauperism, and greatly

* See Appendix, No. IV., p. 81. † See Appendix, No. II., p. 74.

‡ See Appendix, No. V., p. 84.

benefiting the poor themselves. It is a fact that, in the Edinburgh Charity Workhouse, there are old carpenters, old masons, old tinsmiths, old ploughmen, &c. I understand that, till lately, every thing was bought. But, under the judicious management of the present Governor, the paupers now make their own furniture—repair their own buildings, make their own tin dishes—thus saving a very considerable expense. And if a spade were presented to each of the comfortable old gentlemen, who at present pace the “airing grounds” with their hands behind their backs—and if they were taught to dig for their own “porritch,” and cast peats for their own fuel—if the Board of Supervision will listen to any thing so vulgar, great good would result. The question is not whether a pauper will do a *full day’s work*: An able-bodied man, who is quite willing, will produce *five times as much food* (it is calculated) *as he can eat*: A very feeble man, with a light spade, can easily master the far simpler problem of *feeding himself*. It is unnecessary, therefore, on every ground to complicate the question with that of the support of able-bodied paupers. Let us solve our existing problems before we rush to a new and dangerous one.

But I must hasten,

III. To consider proposed amendments on the present law. I am convinced, however, that, in so far as Scotland is concerned, the first thing we need is an amendment upon our law-makers.

It seems to be now universally admitted, that the present system of making the Lord Advocate—who is law-adviser to the crown, public prosecutor for Scotland, a man in most extensive practice at the bar—legislator-general for the kingdom, is essentially erroneous and absurd. There ought to be a secretary of state for Scotland, with a council of Scotch advisers. It is difficult to say whether the handing over of our legislation to one so overwhelmed with other business, or the discussing of it in Parliament after twelve o’clock at night, is the more insulting to our country. Besides, who are the great mass of our legislators? Young noblemen’s sons, educated in England, with all their prejudices strongly

turned against the peculiarities of Scotland, spending their time in clubs in London, and prepared to sacrifice without a struggle all for which our ancestors contended, in the vain and foolish hope of blending our habits into those of England. The present poor law act is just one of the many crude and bitter fruits of this joint parentage, coupled with somewhat of the spirit of jobbing by which all schemes issuing from the Parliament House, which abounds in expectants, are generally distinguished. In considering how to amend it, it is submitted whether such an irresponsible body as the Board of Supervision ought any longer to be tolerated. It is plain that all feeling of local responsibility must vanish before a body sitting at Edinburgh, and meddling arbitrarily with the affairs of every poor's board in Scotland. Let there be an appeal by all means to the Civil Court in cases of grievance, who may be expected to act on fixed principles. But of all abominations of modern times, that of small bodies of men sitting in the dark, at Edinburgh or London, and dealing authoritatively, and without reasons given, with the affairs of a whole kingdom, is one of the most insufferable. These men have more power than Parliament itself. They can put their hands into the pockets of every parish throughout the kingdom to any extent, without any public discussion, and they can deny the rights of the poor as far as they please. Besides, it is impossible for a Board in Edinburgh to understand the peculiarities of every district; and, with the greatest respect for the good intentions of certain members of this august body, I have, after reading their report, which breathes all the peculiar spirit which irresponsible power ever begets, as an old poor's-manager no opinion at all of their practical wisdom. I could give many examples to illustrate the ground of this opinion, but one may suffice. They seem to imagine, that mere increased expenditure is an evidence of growing advantage to the poor. This is one of the most common mistakes of those who have not looked closely at the pauperism question, whereas it often happens that the more expense the more mischief. For example, in reference to medical aid; they say

“Meanwhile a rapidly progressive *improvement* in the supply of medical relief to the poor in this country has been exhibited by the annual returns. From these it appears that the sum expended for this purpose in the year ending Feb. 1846, was L.4055:17:7 $\frac{3}{4}$. In the year ending 14th May 1847, it amounted to L.12,879:9:6 $\frac{1}{2}$; for the year ending 14th May 1848, the sum of L.30,339:12:5,” &c. They infer that “there *can be no doubt* that the supply of medical relief has been *greatly improved*.” By this way of reasoning, it would of course follow, that were L.100,000 devoted to this object, more than three times more good would be done. But when we look into the details of the report itself, we find that of this sum nearly the half has been spent in Glasgow alone, or L.12,605:12:5 $\frac{1}{2}$, much of it spent, I understand, in a way of very questionable utility to the poor. Only L.1,522:9:4 $\frac{1}{2}$ of it was spent in Edinburgh, and yet I have no doubt that the *people* of Edinburgh got at least as much benefit (whatever may be said of the doctors) as those of Glasgow. In fact, Sir George Sinclair affirms, that this is one part of the new system that has been greatly abused. I could point out other mistakes; but one point crowns my objection to this conclave. The Board of Supervision breathes not a hint of any plan for going to the root of the evil. “Spend money, make workhouses, have airing grounds”—these seem all their nostrums; and in my opinion the sooner they are relieved of office the better for all parties.

The power of inspectors ought also to be greatly limited, and rate-payers themselves ought personally to superintend the whole matter, large parishes being broken into small sections for this purpose.

Every effort ought to be made to make Ireland absorb its own fearful beggary, which is eating up the rest of the empire.

The question of the mode in which the assessment should be levied is certainly important, and it would be well if an uniform system were adopted for the whole kingdom. But it is not a very easy question. Rental is a simple and intelligible basis, but of course it allows rich misers to escape. On

the other hand, can you catch rich misers by any process which does not imply a complete overturn of the present system? The miser can easily carry his wealth to another parish; and I understand that, as the result of this process, some northern parishes in trying to catch the rich have simply banished them. No doubt some say, make a rate for the kingdom, and you will be sure to catch all. But I suspect this will be found only a step out of the frying-pan into the fire. Sir George Sinclair proposes this as a means of rousing all classes against any poor's rate. The new English association propose it to relieve the oppressed manufacturing towns. But is there no danger of its ending in a great government job? The politicians may say, if the money is to be thus levied as a public tax, the rulers of the kingdom must administer it, and they may see in it a perfect paradise of situations for their needy underlings. Besides, even if local administration continues, men will be more prodigal of their neighbours' money than they would be of their own—all would be spending if all had to pay—and, besides, it is not fair that, if one class are busy making paupers, they should be allowed to saddle them upon those who manage better—and that, if in any district efforts are made to give industrial employment to the whole population, they should get no benefit from this, in consequence of their being equally subjected to the public tax. No doubt our friends in England complain of what are called "close parishes," that is, parishes from which the people are driven, and which therefore are not greatly assessed, and we have the same evil in Scotland; but abolish the law of entail, and this evil would soon disappear. I do not enter into any additional details; but to sum up, I would propose the following points to be aimed at as the most effectual means of striking at the root of pauperism.

1. Let all evangelical churches labour earnestly and prayerfully to extend the gospel, and to bring men under its power.

2. Let a large measure of national education be introduced—the whole hospital property of the kingdom, amounting in Edinburgh alone to nearly L.2,000,000, being devoted, amongst other funds, to this purpose.

3. Let the sanitary state of our cities be effectually secured, our public grounds again thrown open, and the houses of our labouring people improved.

4. Let the laws of entail and primogeniture, the game laws, and all the folly of the feudal system, be done away. Let the titles of land be made as simple as possible.*

5. Let every effort be made to turn the tide of colonization into our own wastes, and to make Ireland provide for its own poor.

6. Let the prisoners and paupers be employed in providing themselves with food and fuel, by cultivating land and making peats. And let every effort be made to teach them habits of industry, as well as to impress them with Christian principles.

7. Let effectual order be taken with pawnbrokers and publicans; let their number be greatly diminished; and let an annual account of their operations be published as important moral statistics.

8. Let parents exercise more control over their children—teach them to abstain from tobacco, and all wasteful as well as sinful practices, and to use savings banks.

9. Let a secretary of state be demanded for Scotland, with a council of experienced Scotchmen, with whom to advise in regard to all national measures; and probably let there be a demand made for our fair share of representatives (about 80) in the English parliament, and the extension of the forty shilling freehold system to Scotland, for the purpose at once of teaching habits of economy to our people, and giving a wholesome diffusion to political power. Failing all this, some have proposed to alter the form of our union, and to make it federal instead of incorporating, as amongst the states of the American union, disposing at Edinburgh of all purely Scottish questions, which the English seem totally incapable of understanding or dealing with.

If these, or a large number of these measures, were introduced, together with such minor details as are thought important, there can be no doubt that the axe would be laid to

* See Appendix, No. IX., p. 96.

the root of many of our social evils. The problem is a noble one, and seems to involve the rising or falling of the kingdom. Shall this ancient kingdom, then, sink without a blow being struck for her freedom and prosperity?

The people are tired of mere general talk, however well it may sound. They are longing for something substantial—something in the direction of curing the evils of our social system, and opening up avenues of hope and enterprise for our hard-working men. The blessings of thousands will rest upon such as boldly take the side of the oppressed; and the great men of other days, now slumbering in their graves around us, may well teach us a lesson of speaking to princes in the gate, when our all and that of our children is brought to the brink of destruction by the folly and wickedness of centuries of misgovernment. Above all, let us look up for guidance and success to Him who “hath the hearts of all men in his hands,” who hath never said to any of the seed of Jacob “seek my face in vain,” but who, in answer to prayer, will cause us to “see good according to the days in which he hath afflicted us, and the number of the months in which we have seen evil.”

APPENDIX.

No. I.

PUBLIC GROUNDS OF EDINBURGH.

IN connection with all cities there ought to be ample spaces for bleaching clothes and recreation. It is not natural for men to be piled up in such masses, and open spaces for air and health are essentially necessary. Such spaces existed in connection with all our cities in ancient times, but have been gradually seized by rapacious men, encouraged by tame and yielding citizens. The result, I have no doubt, has greatly fostered crime and pauperism. The case of Edinburgh is a fair sample of the whole, and it may be important to lay before my readers the following facts, tending to illustrate the way in which the affairs of this city have been managed, and the people, especially the poor, deprived of their rights and privileges in times past. Some of these cannot now be reclaimed; but this is surely the strongest argument in favour of vigorously protecting those that remain, and recovering such as are not hopelessly forfeited.

ANCIENT PUBLIC PROPERTY.

THE magistrates of Edinburgh, in ancient times, had large means for maintaining the poor; and if these had been carefully husbanded, instead of being foolishly, and often corruptly alienated, we should have had no need of public assessments for the poor, even at the present day. But the process of alienation began at a very early period. We find from Maitland's History, p. 12, that before the Reformation "the Common Council feued the lands of Pittrevey in Fife to Gilbert Lawder, at the sum of twenty-six merks, Scottish money," (L.1:8:10.) Maitland justly remarks, that "this method of feuing lands for money is no way commendable." He would have sub-

stituted grain as the standard of payment. But the whole thing "is no way commendable," as will appear from the fact, that so far as we can discover, these same lands, for which they received L.1 : 8 : 10 a-year, are now worth about L.60,000. It is said that the proprietor sold L.20,000 worth of them, and that the portion that remains is worth about L.2000 a-year. This would surely have been a good thing for the city now, had it been preserved.

After the Reformation, we find the Council applying to the Queen for the lands of the monks and nuns, for the *support of the poor and the promotion of education*; and receiving by a charter, dated March 13th, 1566, "all the houses, tenements, biggings, kirkes, chapels, yards, orchards, crofts, annual rents, teinds, fruits, duties, emoluments, profits, service, almoner, dail silver, obits, and anniversaries, pertaining to the several chaplainries, altars, prebendaries, in the several kirkes, chapels, or colleges within the city and liberties of Edinburgh, with all the lands, &c., thereto belonging in all parts throughout the kingdom, together with all the lands of late belonging to the convents of the black and grey friars of this city, with divers others specified in the same grant." Here was a vast property made over to our civic rulers for a most important object, but which never did benefit the poor or materially promote education, but unfortunately was the fertile source of much subsequent corruption. The utter bankruptcy of our city, and the circumstance that the poor people are not only heavily taxed, but even shut out from breathing the air of heaven upon their own public gardens and meadows, is an affecting answer to the question, What has become of it all? The mass of it was jobbed away in evil times.

THE BOROUGH MUIR.

In addition to all this church property, there was the vast Borough Muir, belonging to the citizens from time immemorial. A minute account of its houndaries will be found in Maitland; but for general description it will be sufficient to say that it covered the whole south side of Edinburgh as far as the Powburn. Let our readers take the map of the city in the Directory, and trace the line of the Powburn from Cameron to the Asylum at Morningside (that district being, therefore, called Boroughmuirhead), including a portion of the lands of Sir Robert Dick, the lands of Newington and Grange, the spacious parks of Sir George Warrender, the beautiful slopes of Canaan, and he will see the ancient patrimony of the citizens of Modern Athens. "A spacious" and "rich spot of ground," Maitland justly observes,

“abounding with large oak-trees.” This noble property was gradually frittered away in feus, chiefly to the dignitaries of the city and their favourites. What they did for Edinburgh history has generally failed to tell; but in the present splendid mansions and fields of the descendants of ancient provosts, we see pretty substantial evidence of what poor Edinburgh was made to do for them. The trifling feu-duties and superiorities, again, got for these lands, were, during more recent times, sold for votes, and thus the citizens have been plundered at all hands. Look on the map at the small paring that remains of all this extensive tract, called Bruntsfield Links (so poor and cold that probably no bailie or provost fancied it), and wonder at the tame submission of the people on the one hand, and the heartless rapacity of our former rulers on the other. The Meadows, to be sure, and Princes Street Gardens, formerly partly under water, still remain, and if they were fairly and fully opened up to the public, there would be some compensation afforded for past misconduct. Something, no doubt, has been lately secured, but the people must not rest satisfied until this portion of their inheritance is completely restored, and cattle and iron locks are again removed, to make way for human beings, to whom the ground undoubtedly belongs.

THE QUEEN'S PARK.

TURNING from ancient to more modern times, I am anxious to awaken public attention to the importance of keeping a vigilant eye on our public authorities. It is currently said, “Oh, these things happened in dark ages, before men were enlightened; they cannot happen in the nineteenth century; and so forth.” Now this is the language of combined folly and self-conceit. The nineteenth century is just like every other century; and the selfishness of man, which is of the essence of his depraved nature, will be found the same in all ages. Our sanguine politicians have lately made the to them startling discovery, that whilst our rulers were amusing them with fine words about retrenchment and reform, they were adding £10,000,000 annually to the national burdens. Mr Prentice, in a late address to the people of Manchester, affirms that, but for him, the gas-works of that city, which now yield a revenue to the community of £30,000 a-year, would have been, not long ago, coolly handed over to private individuals. We have lived to see an act as persecuting and intolerant as any of Charles II. deliberately introduced into the House of Commons, and defended earnestly by the loudest brawlers for liberalism. And the history of Edinburgh

proves, as I shall immediately establish, that some of the most flagrant encroachments upon the substantial rights of the poor are only of yesterday. The case of the Queen's Park is a striking sample of this. The rights of the people to wash and bleach their clothes there had been admitted from time immemorial, and were as good as those of the Queen to her crown, and of our Dukes to their coronets; and yet only a few years ago, whilst carefully paying Lord Haddington for his rights, which he had greatly abused, the whole poor of Edinburgh were swept out by one brush from that noble park and all its fountains of water. I am glad to hear that in this case, however, the insolence of office is about to give way to the loud voice of public opinion, at least in regard to the district around St Anthony's Well, and the Wells of Weary near Duddingstone. It is proposed still, however, to exclude the people of the Pleasance and St Leonard's from bleaching in their respective neighbourhoods, lest the aristocratic eyes of those that pass along in carriages should be offended. Miserable taste must they have, if they are offended by one of the finest spectacles on which a benevolent eye can gaze, and one which a national poet has made the groundwork of a noble poem. Must the filth and fever which now lurk amidst our dense masses be perpetuated on such a frivolous pretence? I would have all the people along the skirts of the park to take courage, and demand the restoration of their rights. By the blessing of God they will be sure to succeed; and men deserve to be robbed if they have not energy and resolution calmly and firmly to maintain their privileges.

THE CALTON HILL, AND EAST PRINCES STREET GARDENS.

ARRANGEMENTS are being made to have the Calton Hill supplied with water, and made thus a most excellent public bleaching green in the centre of the city. And I have seen a very beautiful plan prepared by Mr Cousin, the city architect, for laying out the Eastern Princes Street Gardens for the benefit of the community at large, at a cost of £2000. The town lately obtained upwards of £4000 from the railway companies. Of this, it is proposed to spend L.2000 in laying out these gardens, and upwards of L.2000 they intend to sink in city bonds, as a means of keeping them always in repair. I hope there will be no delay in executing these proposals; and that the people will keep their eyes upon them until they are executed. We have some excellent men in our Council, but others work all the better for the healthful exercise of public opinion. I am not very

sure, at the same time, about what is called investing the people's money in city bonds. It seems very like paying the public debt with the people's property.

WEST PRINCES STREET GARDENS.

THIS brings me to a point which I am anxious to explain, viz., the state of the Western Princes Street gardens, which are twice as large as the eastern, but are entirely appropriated by the Princes Street proprietors, shut up from the public within iron bars, under lock and key, with the frowning intimation on the gates—

“NOTICE.—Any person entering these gardens without a legal right will be prosecuted. No person permitted to lend a garden key.”

This has long struck me as a most hateful state of things,—so unlike the parks of London, or any other great city; and as this process of exclusion is of comparatively modern date, it is important that the public should search its history. Let my readers mark that history as another proof of our Caledonian torpor, and of the great superiority of the nineteenth century over the centuries past. These extensive grounds are divided into two sections, divided nearly by the present line of the Glasgow Railway. The side towards Princes Street belongs to the city of Edinburgh, *i. e.* to the whole inhabitants, being conveyed in a charter of James VI., dated March 15, 1603, to the Provost and Magistrates of Edinburgh, and their successors in office, &c. Attempts were made during the last century, by private individuals, to appropriate this “proper heritage of the said city of Edinburgh,” but resisted successfully in 1776, when it was found “that the said pursuers (the Magistrates), and their successors in office, in virtue of their said titles, have the only good and undoubted right and exclusive title to the whole of the said North Loch, lands, pools, and marshes thereof, and the banks and braes,” &c. The other half, towards the Castle, including the slopes of the Castle Hill, and a beautiful well at the foot of the Castle rock, is also public property, and under the charge of the Board of Ordnance. Both portions were held by these bodies respectively for behoof of the public till the year 1816, and many living persons remember when boys played, and women washed their clothes around the Castle well. But certain proprietors in Princes Street, including, I understand, a very sagacious Baron Clerk Rattray, cast longing eyes on these, and determined, if possible, to secure the exclusive use of them. They first of all succeeded with the Town Council, who, at a meeting on the 31st of July 1816, resolved “That the Council shall gran. a lease of the

city's property to the feuars of Princes Street, or their sub-tenants, for whom they shall be answerable at the present rent received by the city for the same, the lease to endure for ninety-nine years, the proportion of the rent for that part of the ground included in this agreement being *hereby fixed at L.50 per annum.*" L.50 per annum for ground whose real value it is scarcely possible to estimate! But, besides, a ninety-nine years' lease is equivalent to an alienation. It is an alienation during three generations, and it raises an important question. Suppose the Magistrates of Glasgow were to speak of letting the Green, or the Magistrates of Perth the public Inches, for some nominal rent on a ninety-nine years' lease, how would the citizens act? In our opinion, the Magistrates of Edinburgh were as much entitled to let the Firth of Forth for a ninety-nine years' lease. Some slight but vain resistance was made at the time, but we are convinced that the matter may yet be tried successfully, otherwise where is the line of the power of Magistrates to be drawn? There was in this instance corruptly given to a few individuals what they had no right to give away,—what was in fact, and still is, equally the property of every man in the city.

Having thus secured the Magistrates, the Board of Ordnance seem to have been more difficult to manage; and when they did make a bargain, it was a much better one in every respect. On the 8th of December 1818, articles of agreement were entered into between the Board of Ordnance and the Princes Street proprietors. Not satisfied with their extended grounds taken from the citizens at large, they resolved to secure the "poor man's ewe lamb," in the form of the playground and bleaching-green of the crowded dwellings of the Lawnmarket, and it was agreed by the Board of Ordnance, that, "*until the same banks and grounds shall be wanted for the public service, and until notice thereof in writing shall be given or left for the said committee, or the said Alexander Douglas, their clerk,*" the Princes Street proprietors shall have them, and shall pay annually for them, "the sum of L.32;" and also "one shilling for the use of his said Majesty," in acknowledgment of the rights of the Crown. Another clause also takes them bound to quit at once upon receiving notice. And they are bound to give access to the soldiers of the Castle at all times to the "spring of water now lying at the foot of the rock whereon the said Castle stands," and to keep the said spring "clean and free from dirt or soil." And further, showing the superior worldly wisdom of the old soldiers, the Princes Street proprietors, whilst allowed to shut out unceremoniously all the other people of Edinburgh, are taken bound to allow the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, Officers and

Fort-Major, "*and their respective families, friends, and acquaintance, at all times gratuitously, to have free access to, and free use and enjoyment of, all or any of the walks which shall be made,*" &c. Having laid these facts before my readers, I think they will admit that a more indefensible transaction was never recorded. But it is so far fortunate that the whole evil may be immediately redressed, if there is only energy enough for the purpose. The proceedings of the Magistrates, which are not yet covered by forty years' prescription, ought to be immediately disowned and denounced. The grounds of the Castle ought at once to be recovered, on the plain ground that they "are wanted for the public service," in the broadest sense of the words. At the same time, I would not take one farthing from the Princes Street proprietors. The Glasgow Railway have still a large sum to pay to the city. Let this sum, or a portion of it, go to compensate for all their outlay in ornamenting the grounds, or let that be done by a grant from Government, and let the gardens at once be thrown open to the citizens at large, and the ancient bleaching-green be restored to the people of the High Street. There is nothing but simple justice and fair dealing in this; and it would tend greatly to "sweeten the breath of society," and fill up the fearful chasm between the various classes of society. And, besides, the Princes Street people will still be admitted, as well as others; and the flowers will smell all the sweeter to them, and the air all the more balmy, when—instead of looking through the bars of their iron exclusion upon the other ill-used citizens—the spirit of selfishness is knocked on the head, and the people at large, with their children, are allowed to walk by their side."

No. II.

WASTE LAND AND WASTE LABOUR.

As the people of towns are not very competent judges of the practicability of applying our waste labour successfully to our waste land, the following interesting letters, from very adequate judges, are published. The first is from a very intelligent and extensive Midlothian farmer; the second is from an experienced and energetic Highland landlord; the third is from an intelligent parish minister who has long managed the poor. We refrain from publishing their names, but their testimony is very important and unexceptionable:—

" 26th March 1849.

" MY DEAR SIR,—I have read with much interest the letters you have lately published on the 'Rustication of the Poor,' an interest very greatly heightened by the fact that the poor rates in our country parishes are increasing so rapidly, and have already become a most intolerable burden on the owners and occupiers of the land. Your views, in as far as they relate to the employment of our pauper population in the cultivation of the soil, so far from being Utopian and visionary (as they have been styled by some), appear to me to be neither more nor less than plain common sense. Your plan of setting down colonies of paupers in the middle of improvable districts, where they might be occupied in healthy and productive labour, is, I think, a solution of what has been hitherto one of our greatest difficulties. Every one is aware that there are large tracts of land in Scotland which would pay well for improving; and I could instance to you many places, the value of which, by a judicious outlay of capital, has been quadrupled within the last twenty years. Even in this rich agricultural parish, where cultivation has long been in a very forward state, I can point to a large piece of mossy land (which, in an old statistical account of the parish, is declared to be altogether incapable of improvement), which has within the last few years been drained and broke up by the tenant, and is now producing excellent crops; in fact, such is my belief in the exhaustless capabilities of the soil, that even if you take the richest district, nay, even the single field which you may select as being the most highly improved, you will still find that, by the judicious application of more labour,—spade husbandry, and other improvements,—its produce may be increased. That the employment of labour, in increasing the annual produce of the soil, is one of the surest means of benefiting the country, can never be a matter of doubt; and if our paupers could in any way be employed in doing so, it would be an immense gain, as they are, besides the enormous cost of maintaining them, just so much waste labour, and dead stock to the country. It is a well-known fact, that all feeling of delicacy and shame, in coming upon the public funds for support, is completely vanished from the people; and, instead of the honest pride which would have caused the sturdy peasant to work for the support of his aged parents, there is now the utmost difficulty in getting children to do any thing for those who begat them, and the most rapacious and greedy demands made by those who apply to the parochial boards for relief. It is now admitted on all hands, that the only check to this is the workhouse, and already adjacent parishes are joining together to build houses for their combined paupers; but, instead of rearing expensive buildings in the towns, where the people will be kept in idleness, harbouring disease and wretchedness, why not remove them to the country, where they would get fresh air, and land to work upon? Of course, the co-operation of Government would be required to give facilities for the purchase or leasing of land for the purpose, and the erection of suitable buildings.

“Undoubtedly there is a large class, who, from age and disease, are totally helpless, and whom we are bound by every tie of humanity to provide for, not seeking any return; but I am convinced that a great proportion of those who receive assistance from the public assessment are able to work. They have all been bred to some handicraft or other, and by far the greater number have been accustomed to field work, and, I have no hesitation in saying, could be profitably employed in that way. There are many people in my own neighbourhood receiving assistance from the parish, who are perfectly able to work; and I know several cases where they will not work although it is offered them, simply because, receiving enough from the parish to keep them from starvation, their idle habits prevent them. The great point would be to have a sufficient test, that we might be able to say to those who apply for relief, ‘You will go to our colony, where we shall supply you with healthful employment and food,—we shall not ask you to do more than your strength and capacities will allow, but so much we must have, or we will do nothing for you.’ I will not go so far as to suppose that these establishments could be made altogether self-sustaining, or even that waste lands on an extensive scale could be improved by their means; but the effect which it would have in promoting health, and encouraging industry and provident habits amongst the people, would be very great; and, together with other means, such as improving the dwellings of the poor, reducing the number of whisky shops, &c., would effectually stem the tide which is setting in with such fearful force against the middle and upper classes. Under proper practical direction, the land might be drained, subdivided, and the spade husbandry, so much recommended by the Highland Society, adopted. Oats, potatoes, and vegetables, might be grown to supply the wants of the people,—a dairy also might be attached. The interesting letter which was published relative to the improvements made by Dr Duncan of Ruthwell, fully proves what may be done in a very poor district.

“Our wise neighbours, the Dutch, whose actions are always characterised by caution and common sense, have already adopted a similar plan with success, and why should not we also set about it in earnest.—I am, dear Sir, yours very truly, “——.”

“16th March 1849.

“REV. SIR,—I have read with very great delight a series of letters from you to the editor of the *Witness* newspaper, which appeared lately in that paper. I think you are perfectly correct in attributing a great deal of the misery existing in this country, both in towns and in the country, to the prevalence of the law of strict entail. To show you that you are not alone of this opinion, I take the liberty of enclosing you a small pamphlet, in the shape of a letter to Mr Cobden, M.P., which I published previous to the passing of the Lord Advocate’s Entail Amendment Act. You will see there stated the effect of that law in a Highland county, and in a very small section of it. When such effects have resulted from it in a

small district, what must its consequences be over all Scotland? I am myself most decidedly of opinion, that the pauperism now over-running Scotland is clearly to be traced to the existence of this law. It tied property (land) up in the hands of paupers, and, of course, all upon it became poor, because there were comparatively no employers of labour. Land hitherto has been looked upon as the means of conferring importance upon a class, not as the means of giving a living to the great mass of the people. Hence the crowding into towns—hence the prevalence of fluctuating manufacturing employments—hence misery, poverty, and crime. The amendment of the law by the Lord Advocate is of some use, but years must elapse before much benefit can result from it, and the state of the country now admits of no delay. The consent to disentail will not readily be granted by those having a positive and near interest in an entailed estate, and without this the Lord Advocate's amended act is quite inoperative. I would suggest instead, that the interest of the two nearest substituted to the heir in possession of every entailed estate in Scotland should be calculated (very easily done by life-interest tables), and that they should be *bound* to take or accept the value of these interests, upon which the entail law is to be at an end. Some such measure is absolutely required to open up the undeveloped resources of this country, and to allow the cooped up crowds of starving citizens to spread over the waste, but improvable, lands of Great Britain and Ireland. This measure would not be half so strong a one as that suggested by Sir Robert Peel in the House of Commons in regard to Irish estates. No commission needed, no interference with the rights of property, no compulsory sales, but only giving the man in possession of land a *real*, and not fictitious ownership, and paying those who granted this for granting so great a boon.

“Begging that you will forgive the liberty I have taken in making this appeal to you, I am, Sir, with much respect, your most obedient servant,
“_____.”

DR ATTON ON WASTE LAND AND WASTE LABOUR.

“*To Bailie Gray, Chairman of the Charity Workhouse, Edinburgh.*”

“DEAR SIR,—Within these two years Europe has been shaken to the centre by a dozen of revolutions at least, which are vomiting forth the tyrannical corruptions of the old monarchies, like Vesuvius her streams of lava. Hitherto Britain has only heard the rumbling noise in the distance, and as yet we are merely frightened at the trembling of the earthquake. But a portion of this very vial of God's wrath will assuredly be poured out on our own country. This convulsion which is brewing for us will not burst out of the national debt, or from Chartism or Socialism, but from the want of Christian and the prevalence of immoral training of the young, resulting in drunkenness, crime, and pauperism among the masses, to an amount far more destructive than a civil war. The cloud at first rose like a man's hand in the clear sunshine of the morning, but now it has spread over the whole sky, and must certainly break upon England

ere long. The coming destruction has been partly seen for years, and to avert it much nonsense has been talked in Parliament,—Committees of the House have sat, commissions have been appointed, and boards of control have been erected,—all with no other practical result than to manufacture pensions and mis-spend money. These have all worked at the wrong end of the lever, till Dr Guthrie suggested his plan of ragged schools to diminish crime, and Dr Begg that of colonising the poor of our cities over the waste lands of our own country as a remedy for pauperism. To your plain practical good sense, piety, and benevolence, as Chairman of the Charity Workhouse in Edinburgh, this cause and country are much indebted. But, Sir, that this matter may not entirely remain in the hands of Free Churchmen and other Dissenters like yourself, however talented and respectable, will you permit me, an unworthy member of the old Church of Scotland, to state my views to you, were it only to show that we are still desirous to do all the good we can, whether in public or in private. Long before the Disruption, I published something about the poor, and ever since the recent legislation I have observed and contrasted the workings of the new and old systems. And to my mind the result seems to be truly alarming. In Scotland our poor's rates have amounted this year to the enormous sum of £550,000; and it is expected that the amount will be £600,000 by next assessment. In Glasgow it amounts to nearly £100,000; and in Edinburgh, exclusive of the parishes of St Cuthbert's and Leith, the sum required is £27,000, and it is increasing every year. How can it be otherwise when you have a thousand whisky-shops, and only two hundred bread-shops in your city, and when, as you have made it appear, in two thousand seven hundred cases of pauperism there were two thousand of them traceable to drunkenness alone? Why, Sir, if this be the way of it, this single serpent will soon swallow up all the rods. The late poor law act will become worse than an agrarian law, which only divided the property, whereas this will absorb it entirely. Unless a speedy and effectual remedy be adopted on a grand scale, a financial convulsion must be the consequence. The evil increases, not by the common addition of 1, 2, 3, 4, but of 1, 4, 16, and so on. And if you take the example of a ship at sea, and bore one hole to-day in her bottom, four to-morrow, and sixteen the day after, pray how low will it be till she sink, even although all hands should turn to the pump, and work themselves to death? I heard of a gentleman, the other day, in Glasgow, who already pays £700 a year for the relief of the poor, and who sees and says that this burden will soon be increased to £2000 per annum. This, he says, he will not endure; and he sees no other remedy for it than to cross over to America, where the world is in the vigour of its youth, where the masses are scattered, for the most part, in rural districts over the land, and occupying it in what portions they can cultivate, and where, it is said, there is only one beggar, and he rides on horseback. Politicians speak much of the balance of power, but there is a balance also of population, little heeded as yet, but which is fast pressing into notice. The towns are become

far too heavy for the country population. In parliament the mercantile interest will soon outvote the agricultural. The poor we must always have, and the profligates, too, will ever obtain to a certain extent; but if we lose the balance here, and these kick the beam, where are we when the world is thus turned upside down? And our present system of punishing, rather than of preventing crime, and of feeding the poor in their poverty, and thus rewarding them—tempting and teaching them to become paupers—is increasing the nursery, by making assessments of money as if for the very purpose. To go back to our comparison, instead of thus boring holes in the bottom of our ship, and pumping out the water when all threatens to drown, let us dive to the root of the evil, plug up the apertures, caulk the seams, and copper the bottom, and forthwith the gallant ship will start from her beam-ends, and stand erect on the wave, and be as ready as ever to defy the battle and the breeze. Is it wise to concentrate crime into a jail, and pauperism into a charity workhouse? The jail, or even a penitentiary, is just a college where the better learned teach the young all manner of evil, where regard for character is extinguished, and from which an unfortunate youth issues as a confirmed rogue, and a robber in habit and repute, till he involve his country in a hundred pounds of expenses before he can be shipped off to become a tiller of the ground. And what are your charity workhouses in the midst of a city? They are habitations as cleanly and comfortable, I grant, as the locality will admit, but fearfully expensive, and merely skinning over the sore without curing it,—mere pump-work, while the water is gushing in below. Dr Begg's method of colonising our paupers appears to me one method, at least, of curing this evil. In the country your paupers will have plenty of fresh air, clean water, exercise, and occupation, tending both to pleasure and to profit. There are, as every body knows, thousands of acres of waste land capable of being made as productive as the best land in Scotland. Every man, although advanced in years, can handle a spade. Every woman can fill and scatter dung, can plant, hoe, and dig potatoes, single turnips, and even be taught to milk a cow, churn butter, and make a cheese; and the children can pull weeds and herd, gather manure, and be worth their meat from the time they have been learned to read their Bible and write. In country districts they will need no policemen to hurl them home drunk on a wheelbarrow. They are far from temptation; they have a character to support; and in the pure solitude and peaceful silence of the surrounding hills and glens, sentiments of piety, and penitence, and prayer, are more congenial than in the habits and hurry of a large city. In three or four years, with help at first, the colony would maintain itself. They would improve not only themselves, their comforts and habits, but, *pro tanto*, both our soil and climate. They would relieve the pressure of pauperism, now concentrating into such fearful masses. They would cast the weight into the opposite scale, increase the population and power of the rural districts, and diminish that of the towns. In a word, from being receivers of poor's rates, they would become payers. You

know that an experiment of this sort has been already tried in this very neighbourhood, and with perfect success. In Edinburgh, you and others in power have sent to the country the children of the poor to be boarded to the number of two, three, or four at most, in one house, instead of being pent up in fifties or hundreds in hospitals. We have had some of these for several years in this neighbourhood,—at West Linton, Peebles-shire, and elsewhere. And every year have I met you and many of the most wealthy, intelligent, pious, and benevolent citizens of Edinburgh, on the day appointed for inspecting the health and habitations of these very interesting portions of the rising generation. They have all been religiously trained, well taught to read and write, and sturdily brought up, fit for every work. And those who left town but the other year, pale and poor-like creatures, are now strong and ruddy young men and women,—ploughmen, dairymaids, shoemakers, and such like.

“Why not, then, take another similar step in advance, and try the same experiment on the comparatively older, which has succeeded so well with the younger? Venture L.1000 out of the L.27,000 of your yearly expenditure; select a proper number of your paupers, both men and women, not excessively old or infirm; some who were formerly masons, and wrights, and tinsmiths; and people from rural districts, who in former years wrought at agricultural occupations before settling in Edinburgh; aged women and men who were formerly farm-servants; a weaver or two, and a shoemaker by all means; a sawyer, too, and two or three quarrymen; and, in fact, any body and every body but retired genteel servants, or poachers, or whisky sellers. Let not the number at first be too many; and give the plan a fair chance by taking favourable specimens as to age, strength, and previous capabilities, although deficient a little in habits, for such can't be helped all at once.

“Then prepare a greater or less number of portable wooden houses, to accommodate for two or three months a few masons, wrights, and quarrymen, who are to build a few houses, not in rows, attached to one another, but by themselves, and at such distances that each may have around him, say six acres of land, which he and others are to cultivate, and on which he is by and by to subsist, and for which, in the long run, he is to pay rent, so as to pay you back the outlaid money, or some interest for it at any rate.

“Next select a locality, not very far from town, near a railway station, where the soil is naturally fertile—where there is plenty of freestone, and lime, and sand—a good exposure to the south, shelter from the north, and partly from the west—with a peat moss near by, and coal-pits at no unreasonable distance. Then tell, in a kindly way, your people your plan of colonisation; promise them, as before, a house, food, fuel, and clothing, with the additional recommendation that it is in the country, and that every family is to have its own house, and land adjoining, on the conditions laid down by you.

“With all the advantages this plan presents, there are some difficulties. Perhaps the people wont come to the country, or the parishes wont receive them, for fear of them acquiring a legal right on the locality as paupers; or those who come may be lazy and

won't work; or they may crowd back to their old haunts; and many more *ors* and *ifs* may cast up. But it is obvious that an Act of Parliament will be needed at the very first, and a general act for Scotland, should the plan be entertained, and after it is better matured. And as to those who wont leave Edinburgh, they may just remain in it on their own charges; and as to those who wont work when they are out in the country, the apostle tells us, they shall not eat. And may be, with all its plausibilities, the scheme may fail entirely. But assuredly it is worthy of earnest consideration, and also, I think, of a trial, on a small scale at first, and in a prudent economical way.

"I am happy to hear that it has been proposed to have a convention of delegates from all the Poor's Parochial Boards in Scotland soon, to meet in Edinburgh once every year, like the convention of the Royal Burghs, and it should be exactly at the same time, that they may correspond. There this scheme might be discussed, and generally difficulties removed, and experience acquired, and advice sought and given. Should such ever meet, I will attend for one. And that this communication may be like a lady's letter, which contains the most important portion in the postscript, I conclude with informing you, that should you adopt the plan so far as to try it on a small scale, I know of a tract of very fertile muir land, well adapted for your purpose, and which may be had very cheap, say five hundred acres, level enough, but hanging to the sun, so as to afford sufficient declivity for the water. It contains a burn, and plenty of springs. There is freestone, and lime, and sand, for building, all for the lifting. It requires little draining, and is as good land if brought in by cultivation, with as open a subsoil, as the rest of the parish of Dunsyre, which produces the ordinary crops in abundance, and lets at from one to two or three pounds per acre. It is near a flow moss, where peats are dug, and not far from coals, which are brought now to Carnwath, and worked at Harrowgate Head, about four, five, and six miles distant. In a word, the land may be brought, in two years or so, to yield both milk and meal; and in four years to undergo the regular rotation of crops, both white and green, so as to yield all that your plan requires, namely, food, fuel, and clothing. There is not a whisky shop in the parish, or for miles, or any town or village, or temptation of any sort. It is near the Auchingray or Carnwath station of the Caledonian Railway. And if you, Dr Begg, and some other friends to the cause, were to appoint some day in the merry month of May or June to take an early breakfast, and to provide a leg of cold lamb and a quartern loaf, and to come out with the first train, I would meet you at the lime quarry at your own hour. You would traverse the land, see the whole locality, ascend the hill of Craigengaur, and see from Arthur Seat to Loudon Hill, or perhaps from St Abb's Head to Arran Hills, and you could go six miles across the country to your bed at Dolphinton manse, or return to town with an afternoon or evening train.

"Please excuse this long epistle, written off at a single sitting and in haste, and believe me, yours respectfully, JOHN AITON.

"*Dolphinton Manse, 4th May 1849.*"

No. III.

HERE is the prospectus of the Metropolitan Association for Improving the Dwellings of the Industrious Classes. Capital, L.100,000, in 4000 shares of L.25. each. *Directors.—Chairman—*Sir Ralph Howard, Bart., M.P., &c :—

“ The object of this Association is to erect dwellings for the working classes, combining in their construction the several improvements in drainage, ventilation, a due supply of water, and such other advantages as shall be calculated to render their sanitary condition as complete as may be practicable.

“ The evidence produced before the Parliamentary Committee appointed to enquire into the health of towns, disclosed a state of circumstances connected with the domestic habits and dwellings of the poorer classes in the metropolis and other densely populated districts, fearful to contemplate, and urgently calling for a remedy.

“ Many districts tenanted by the industrious classes do not possess a single sewer, or means of drainage of any kind. In numerous cases whole families—parents, sons, and grown-up daughters—and in some, even two or three families, reside together, day and night, in a single room ; and for this miserable accommodation the most extravagant rents are paid.

“ The plan of this Association having been submitted to her Majesty’s government, they have been pleased to recommend her Majesty to grant to it a Royal Charter of Incorporation, which has been obtained. The charter is dated the 16th October 1845.

“ The rate of interest to be paid to the shareholders is not to exceed L.5 per cent. per annum.

“ *The liability of the shareholders is limited to the amount of their respective shares.*

“ It is confidently believed that the object of this Association may be carried into effect, so as to afford to the working classes healthy and comfortable dwellings on reasonable terms, and to remunerate the shareholders with an interest of L.5 per cent. per annum.

“ *The Directors invite the public to an inspection of the first set of houses erected by them in Old Pancras Road, leading from King’s Cross to Camden Town (and near the Euston Square Station, from which it may be reached in eight or ten minutes by Grenville Street, Seymour Street, as shown in the following plan), containing accommodation for 110 families, in sets of two and three rooms each, with a separate scullery and water-closet, and ample supply of water and many other conveniences.*

“ All the dwellings are let ; which circumstance, coupled with the fact, that the ‘ Lodging-House for single men ’ in George Street, Holborn, is always fully occupied, shows that the working-classes gladly avail themselves of improved accommodation if offered to them, and affords to the shareholder the reasonable assurance of the due payment of the interest of five per cent., rendering the invest-

ment of capital on the security of the Association eligible as such, it even divested of the humane and social considerations on which it is founded. The basis of the security is freehold and long leasehold estate, in the midst of large populations, and after allowing for the charges of management (the bearing of which will become lighter as the Association becomes larger), and the payment of dividends, it is hoped and expected that an annual surplus will accrue, to be applied, under the terms of the Charter, to the increase of the buildings. The security to the shareholders will thus be fortified by additions to the capital, without augmenting the claims for dividend.

“The Directors appeal with confidence to all who may be desirous of co-operating in a work of much social good, to contribute to the capital so urgently required; involving *no liability to each party beyond the amount of shares subscribed for* by such party, and with the promise of an advantageous return, when compared with many other classes of investment.

“Persons taking shares will not be required to pay the amount already called from the present shareholders in larger instalments than L.5 in any one payment, at intervals of not less than three months.

“*Parties desirous of paying up the full amount of their shares at once may do so, in which case they will be entitled to the same dividend on their shares as the general body of shareholders paying their calls from time to time, and the overplus of the paid-up shares which has not been called will be invested in the public funds, and the dividends thereon paid to the parties so paying in full.*

“The terms of the Charter do not restrict the operations of the Association to the metropolis, and the Directors have made arrangements for imparting the benefits, privileges, and immunities, granted by the Charter, under this Association, to Branch Societies in districts wherever a sufficient number of shareholders shall be desirous of erecting improved dwellings for the industrious classes. The effect of these arrangements will be to ensure (as far as possible) the success of local undertakings, at the same time that those benevolent individuals who may be disposed to subscribe for the benefit of their respective neighbourhoods will be made secure against all individual claim and liability whatsoever. Application has already been received from the parish of Hampstead to be admitted as an incorporated Branch Association, and similar applications are expected from other quarters.

“Parties disposed to co-operate in this work of social improvement, whether as individuals or acting on behalf of Branch Associations, are requested to communicate with Charles Gatliff, Esq., Hon. Secretary, No. 19 Colman Street, London.

“FORM OF APPLICATION FOR SHARES.

“GENTLEMEN,—I request you will insert my name as a subscriber for _____ shares in the *Metropolitan Association for Improving the Dwellings of the Industrious Classes*, the calls upon which I will pay when required. (Signature—Address—Date—).

“To the Directors of the *Metropolitan Association for Improving the Dwellings of the Industrious Classes*, 19, Colman Street, London.

“N.B.—Every set of rooms is furnished with boiler, range, oven, and a coal box, in the lower part of the cupboard; and there is also a scullery attached to each set, containing sink, cistern, water-closet, and dust-shaft.”

No. IV.

EXTRACT FROM JOURNAL OF A TOUR IN HOLLAND IN MARCH 1848.

“AT Ommerschaus about 2000 people, including women and children, are maintained. The buildings run round a square court, bisected with a road with palisades on each side,—in one half are the women and children—in the other the men. The whole is surrounded by water for security, and is entered by a bridge. They have been beggars and idle people, but not criminals, sent by their parishes or the Government, and maintained by the Society (“Benevolent Society,” who own all the five pauper colonies), at the charge of whoever sends them. It is said not to be entirely self-supporting, but is very useful, and the people contented. The men are in long rooms (two rooms of eighteen feet wide in the breadth of the range of house, and one room in roof above), which admit of two rows of hammocks in each room; these are suspended, one end from the wall, the other from the ceiling;—they are drawn up out of the way in the daytime. Round the room runs a bench next the wall, which has closets under for each person; two or three stoves complete the equipment; they are as close packed as possible, but clean and comfortable. The kitchens contain simply three boilers each, in which the dinner, a little meat (three ounces each), peas, &c., is cooked. They get bread (1 lb.) for breakfast, and no supper is provided. The fare seems meagre, but the answer is, ‘They are beggars, and must not expect better. The women, also, use hammocks; they have some tables in their rooms; the children have bedsteads. The bread is of rye, and, perhaps, barley mixed (in good years they mix one quarter of potato flour); it is made without yeast, in solid oblong squares;—it is very black, but sweet, and similar to what is in general use in Holland.

“For employment for these, there are smiths’ shops, carpenters, weavers, tailors, sackmakers, besides extensive gardens, and nineteen farms, containing altogether 700 acres,—viz.:

They said, however, that the clover lay three years.	{	105 acres potatoes.
		210 „ corn.
		105 „ wheat and barley.
		210 „ clover.
		105 „ broom.

Every one who can is *obliged* to work (they are generally sent for a certain number of years, say four or five, to reform idle habits),—punishments of various kinds,—a particular dress for insolence to be

worn several months—black hole, and bread and water, for the refractory, &c. On coming to the colony, they get certain changes of clothes (most are made on the spot),—a value is put on their daily work, and they get a certain proportion for themselves; if a man earn 3 florins (5s. per week), he will receive 30 cents, or 6d. for himself, besides clothes and food.

“There is a store where those who earn money can buy any thing they wish, except spirits (colonial zinc money is used, so they cannot exchange it out of the colony for spirits, and none are sold in it). The feeding of the people costs 9 cents. per head (10 cents would be 2d.) per day. They seemed well in health, though apparently meagrely fed. In a good year, potatoes enough for their consumption can be raised on the farms; also hay for the cows; corn and potatoes; but hay sometimes, and always manure, must be bought. None of the produce is sold. The 19 farms (cottage farms) have from 18 to 24 cows each,—the milk and butter is used in the colony. Ploughs are used, but a good deal of hand-labour is employed on the farms. Broom is sown with wheat and rye (as grass seeds are); the next year it is allowed to grow untouched, and in the autumn, or subsequent spring, ploughed into the land with four horses (the plough has a bow upon it to press down the broom before it),—it is the best of green manures, and lasts in the ground for two years,—nothing else is required to raise a crop of potatoes and rye. If seed is wished, the broom must remain another year.

“*Saturday.*—Visited Fredericksoord, but had a very wet day, and only spent two hours there. The Director said it would take ‘several weeks to acquaint one’s self with details.’

“This is spoken of as a happier colony than Ommerschaus, as it consists of poor but free workers, while Ommerschaus is to reform vagrants (*idlers*) by compelling them to work for a certain number of years. At Fredericksoord and Willemsoord adjoining, they live in families; each has a separate cottage.

“There are now upwards of 2000 families of say six persons each. They have been poor people sent by their parishes (I heard that a parish or individual could *always* have a family there for every 1600 guilders, about L.140, once subscribed.) They remain for life, unless they wish to go, when they ask leave; but this is very seldom, only when some property has been left to them, or their children, settled elsewhere, and well to do, wish them to go to them. The children are entirely in the schools until they are twelve years old, or, if backward, thirteen; they then commence to work at weaving, or out-of-door work, &c. &c. Little girls, of thirteen and fourteen, were weaving, very zealously and well, plain cotton goods for the Dutch Indian colonies. The children are only kept in the colony until twenty to twenty-three years of age, when they are desired to provide for themselves. The original idea was to give every family three acres of land, to cultivate themselves, on lease from the Society, *but this is now not the case* (and there are only thirty or forty exceptions in which the parties pay, as on lease for their crops); but still the cottages are built at the same uniform distance

as before, as it prevents contamination, &c. Their dwellings line both sides of the roads for many miles, and are all on one plan—are about twenty feet from the road, which space forms a flower garden, the gable end is towards the road, a dunghill at opposite end of house, and an accommodation road along one side of it before the doors. The form of house has been little altered since the first, built more than twenty years ago by General Vanden Bosch. They are the very best cottages for the comforts of a family I have ever seen; they cost the Society only L.40 each.

“The dwelling is built of brick, very thin, being only brick on hed. The out-house has a foot or so next the ground of brick, and above that is constructed with wood posts and rough boards. The dwelling has a tile floor, the out-house, earth or clay. There is a loft, where hoys can sleep, over the kitchen. The cow has one corner of the out-house, with a door to itself; as the wall round one side and end of house is only four feet high, the cow’s door rises into the thatch. The out-house, about twenty-eight feet by twenty-one feet, contains the peat, the hay, &c., and under the window in it the wife can wash clothes or utensils. It is better to enter through the out-house door into the dwelling, as keeping it warmer. I found the people closed up the door between the kitchen and open air. The whole is under one roof of thatch—this is preferable to tiles or slates for a cottage. The reeds used there for thatching are said to be more durable than straw or heather—they last twenty to thirty years, and grow by the side of the canals and rivers, five, six, seven feet high. The same kind (*Arundo phragmatis*) grows in England, and upon the Clyde below Glasgow, but does not seem quite as tall and good.

“The colonists receive, each family, a house, garden, and cow; they work for the Society on any lands desired, and have no longer any connexion with three acres, their own gardens being a fraction of an acre only (one reason for this change was, that there were many incapacitated for cultivating lands, but able for other trades). The colony is divided into three quarters, and each quarter into so many sections, and overseers are chosen from among the colonists themselves, and punishments awarded by a few of the colonists and administrators conjoined. They receive for their work according to its value, in potatoes, bread, &c., and money (colonial); there is a maximum fixed; if they earn more than that per week, the surplus is put in reserve, and given them at the end of the year, after deducting for the administration of the colony, &c.; they also receive some clothes quarterly. All the family work,—the mother can knit at home,—the children are at school or work,—the produce of their work and crops are of course the Society’s, as also the dung of the cow.

“The soil is thin heath upon clay or sand, but some of it is called ‘lime ground,’ as the sand contains lime. It looks as unpromising as possible for any kind of crop. It is trenched two feet six inches deep, the crops being considered to require this depth, the turf lies in the middle, and the bottom spit on the top; the

object is to mix all thoroughly. 'Three times the usual quantity of dung is required to first-crop' this newly brought in land. Broom, ploughed in green, is much used here, as at Ommerschaus. The rotation in that case, is broom, potatoes, rye sown with broom, —broom, potatoes, rye sown with broom,—the potatoes are dibbled in. It seems that, from experiments made by General Vanden Bosch, broom is the best fertilizer of *green manures*; it is a little troublesome to work with, but they don't mind that. They have tried guano, but it is wanting in organic matter; it does very well upon grass; it is, they say, too dear also,—hones also have been tried, but are not favourites, from, I suppose, the same reasons. The Director mentioned Professor Johnston, said his work is translated into all languages, and he has a good opinion of it. "B."

No. V.

PROFITABLE CRIMINAL LABOUR.

A HOPEFUL proposal has just been made in England, on the subject of crime, as will be seen by the following article in last number of the *Gardeners' Chronicle*, to which I solicit earnest attention:—

"Mr C. Pearson, M.P., wishes to introduce a system of prison discipline, founded upon industrial labour. Crime would probably be reduced by it, and, certainly, the enormous outlay required for the construction of prison palaces upon the cellular system would be avoided; while the prisoners would be enabled to diet and clothe their guards and themselves by the produce of their labour. His project proposes the formation of two cheap prisons with 1000 acres of land to each, under two distinct sets of circumstances, for the purpose of testing their relative powers of surplus production, after the primary conditions of each establishment shall have been complied with, namely, the raising on each 1000 acres respectively an amount of bread, meat, oatmeal, and potatoes, sufficient for the sustenance of 1000 prisoners and 100 officers.

"The one it is proposed to establish upon 1000 acres of land in Hampshire; and the other within a few miles of London, Liverpool, Manchester, or other populous city, where, by the application of a greater quantity of manure, a greater amount of labour may be profitably employed (after supplying the prisoners with requisite food) in raising market-garden produce, which would bring a considerable cash return. In the Essex Forests, within ten miles of London, there are many thousand acres of land suitable for these purposes, which, like the New Forest, are unproductive in the hands of the Crown. At Wanstead also, there are 1500 acres of waste land which do not produce a rent of 2s. 6d. per acre, although

they immediately adjoin to land of the same quality, which, by the labour of man, has been well drained and cultivated, and was recently sold at upwards of L.100 per acre.

“Mr Pearson has issued a circular to the members of the London Farmers’ Club, from which, indeed, we have extracted the above enunciation of his plan; and in it he asks for information on the productive powers of a thousand acres of land, when subjected to the highest possible cultivation, by means of the manure from an establishment of eleven hundred persons, combined with an amount of active vigorous labour, equal in quantity (if capable of being profitably employed) to the powers of five hundred ordinary agricultural labourers, working ten hours a-day, with a power, at the same time, of expanding or contracting the daily supply of labour,—as far as the whole number of prisoners will admit,—and as the exigencies of farming operations and the state of the season may require,—having reference, however, to the importance of spreading the labour of the five hundred over the surface of the whole year, so far as it can be conveniently done. In order to simplify the question upon which information is desired, he observes that the maximum of produce yearly required for the use of the establishment is 930 quarters of wheat, 16,900 stones of meat, 700 tons of potatoes, and 360 quarters of oats.

“Let us therefore suppose the case of 1000 acres of originally waste land, first improved by drainage and otherwise, to be cultivated on a rotation able to meet these wants. The above quantity of wheat would be yielded by 260, and the above quantity of oats by about 72 acres; the whole grain required thus occupying 332 acres, or about one-third of the farm. The following rotation would, it is believed, nearly answer the requirements of produce, though not those of labour, even considering the spiritless character which, in the case of prisoners, it is likely to exhibit * The rotation is one of six years:—

“1. 166 acres of wheat: stubble dug, and sown with rye.

“2. 166 acres of rye consumed by cattle in houses, and sheep on the land: followed by common and Swedish turnips.

“3. 166 acres of mangold-wurzel.

“4. 94 acres of wheat, and 72 acres of oats: stubble dug and sown with winter tares.

“5. 166 acres of tares consumed by cattle in houses, and sheep on the land: followed by rape and kohlrabi transplanted.

“6. 166 acres of carrots and parsnips.

“We have not alluded to potatoes, as they are too hazardous a crop for extensive cultivation.

“1. Now, as regards the produce of the land thus laid out,—the wheat and oats needed are provided by the extent sown, assuming it to yield $3\frac{1}{2}$ quarters per acre of wheat, and 5 quarters per acre of

* It might be well for the larger production of labour, to cultivate some of the more laborious crops, such as flax, which would also furnish in-door labour suitable for wet weather.

oats,—no improbability. And the following will probably be the yield of green food:—

	TONS.
“ 166 acres of rye at 10 tons per acre . . .	1660
... turnips at 20 tons . . .	3320
... mangold-wurzel at 24 tons . . .	3984
... tares at 10 tons per acre . . .	1660
... rape and kohl rabi at 16 tons . . .	2656
... carrots and parsnips at 16 tons . . .	2656
<hr/>	
Total green crops	15,936

“ Now, deducting from this amount 936 tons of parsnips and carrots, as the equivalent of 700 tons of potatoes needed for the use of the establishment, we have here a gross produce of 15,000 tons of vegetable food to convert into meat. The experience of one winter, some years ago, with a considerable flock of sheep folded over 30 acres of common and Swedish turnips, led to the inference that 1 lb. of meat is made during the consumption of every 150 lbs. of green food. If this be generally true, then 15,000 tons of green food should produce 100 tons of meat. This is equal to 16,000 stoues, nearly the amount that Mr Pearson requires. There will be no surplus, it would thus appear, after the wants of the establishment shall have been satisfied. We have put the produce as high as even spade labour will bring it, and we have put the produce of meat from vegetable food quite as high as an average experience will justify. At the same time it is proper to add, that a rotation of the kind supposed, under spade cultivation, will improve the land, and a less extent will by and by supply all the grain that is needed; so that ultimately more acres, each of greater productiveness, will be available for the growth of green crops; and a surplus, which is extremely unlikely at first, may thus be realised at last.

“ 2. We now come to the subject of the labour which 1000 acres thus cultivated will require. We shall find that 500 men will not obtain full employment on so small an extent, unless, indeed, it be supposed that the day's labour of a prisoner is of very much smaller value than that of a freeman. This, however, matters little, as a more thorough and repeated cultivation may be insisted upon, not so much to increase the produce of the land, as to provide the employment that is required; or, what would be a better solution of the difficulty, a larger enclosure may be made, so as to create a surplus produce, at the same time that ample labour is provided.”

After a calculation, it is added—

“ If we suppose that the working days of a year are 240, then the labour provided by the farm of 1000 acres will employ 250 men throughout the year, and it will need double the extent to give an amount of labour equal to the employment of 500 men—at which Mr Pearson appears to value the force of his 1000 prisoners. We have not gone into the distribution of the labour throughout the year, but we have no doubt that the management of these crops

might be arranged so as to equalise the work ; or, at all events, render it in proportion to the daylight and available work time during the different months respectively.

“ We make no apology for occupying our leading section with the details. Certainly there will be no need of one if they should induce, as we hope they will, a discussion in these columns of Mr Pearson’s plans, as to their agricultural bearings ; and the worthlessness which is notoriously chargeable on estimates in agriculture will, we hope, only the more successfully provoke, for Mr Pearson’s information, a discussion of the one we have given above.”

From this it appears that 1000 prisoners can cultivate with the spade twice as much land as will supply their own wants and those of their keepers. Why not, then, introduce this system, and not only make them self-sustaining, but make those able-bodied men that loiter in our palace jails not only maintain themselves, but aid in supporting the helpless paupers, and at once rid the community of two enormous burdens ? It would be well to make men that do mischief spontaneously do good even by force. It would not exactly be a virtue in them, but it would do great good to the community, and aid in the solution of great social problems. Besides, coupled with earnest Christian instruction, it would be a very hopeful measure even in regard to the criminals themselves, especially if premiums were held out for industry and good behaviour. To shut up men merely in an iron cage cannot be expected to do any good ; and the fact, that some of these men turn out well in penal colonies, where there is ample scope for industry, is a great encouragement to plant such colonies at home.

No. VI.

FREEHOLD ASSURANCE ASSOCIATION OF IRELAND.

THE primary object of this Association is to afford immediate and profitable employment to the labouring population of Ireland, and to promote the formation and establishment in Ireland of a permanent body of independent yeomen, consisting of resident proprietors, holding farms in fee simple, and to improve the social condition of that country by inducing the better cultivation of the soil, the drainage, reclamation, and settlement of waste lands, and the general development of its industrial resources. With these objects they propose, under the sanction of Government, to enter into agreement with the Crown and with landed proprietors, for the purchase or right of pre-emption of lands in suitable districts of Ireland, to ex-

pend the necessary sums in adapting such estates to productive agricultural enterprise, by effectual arterial and thorough drainage, by opening, deepening, and clearing rivers and outlets, where necessary, for the free discharge of water at all seasons; for building convenient farm-houses and cottages, for laying out settlements, and dividing the same into such allotments as may be found expedient for the purposes of sale and disposal.

The lands so improved, adapted, and divided, will be sold with a reasonable profit to persons of the requisite capital to cultivate the same, or otherwise conveyed in fee simple, on mortgage to yeomen of good character, subject to a terminable rent charge on the following principle, or on such terms as may be agreed on.

The Association will grant to yeomen farmers of good character the fee simple of a farm or allotment of land, adapted for the purposes of husbandry or settlement, subject to an annual rent charge, to be paid during the life of the grantee. This rent charge will represent the annual payment, which on the ordinary system of tenure he would pay to the landlord for the use of the soil, together with such premium as would be necessary to enable the Company to re-assure the value of the property, and so replace the amount of their investment on the decease of the occupier. For example, a person aged 30 desires to possess and to secure to his children the absolute freehold of a farm, valued at £500; the company will convey to him the said farm, subject to

The rent charge of	£20 0 0
And the annual premium for insuring £500	12 10 0
<hr/>	
Total rent charge payable during the life of the grantee	32 10 0
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The farmer will thus virtually *own* during his life the freehold of the land, and on his decease it will become the unburdened patrimony of his children, representatives, or devisees. The value of the fee simple will be restored to the Association by virtue of the annual premium: the property during the lifetime of the occupier remaining mortgaged to the Association as security for the rent and premium; an unexceptionable security, inasmuch as the *quasi* tenant, along with the independence, has all the motives of interest of a landowner, to improve the property under his care.

The first operation of the Association will be the improvement of lands in the immediate neighbourhood of the existing centres of

population, and in the apportionment of the contiguous lands into town, suburban, and country allotments, at suitable prices for sale or lease. The details of the proposed first settlement will be afterwards announced.

Amongst other properties in Ireland adapted to the object of this Association, they would particularly specify the estate of Connemara, in Galway, the natural advantages and facilities of which are thus summed up by an eminent authority, the late Mr Nimmo: "Various great inlets penetrate the district, so that no part of it is distant five miles from existing navigation. There are upwards of twenty safe and capacious harbours, fit for vessels of any burthen; about twenty-five navigable lakes in the interior, of a mile or more in length, besides hundreds smaller; the sea-coast and all these lakes abound with fish. The district, with its islands, possesses no less than five hundred miles of sea-shore; on Lough Corrib it has about sixty miles of shore; so that with Lough Mask, &c., there are, perhaps, as many miles of shore of the sea, or navigable lakes, as there are square miles of surface." The country abounds with the most valuable minerals, large portions of the soil only require the aid of capital and science to be adapted to the purposes of productive agriculture; and the completion of the railway from Dublin to Galway will shortly bring the district within thirty hours of London."

No. VII.

BEGGARY PRODUCED BY ENTAILS.

"You are probably aware, Sir, that there exists in Scotland a law passed in 1685, called the Law of Entail, by which the possessor of an estate can transmit it from father to son for ever. His descendants may be fools, knaves, or wise men; but their fortunes are not to vary in consequence. Without any reference to the ever-varying circumstances of the country, its civilisation, and enormously-increasing population—totally irrespective of the character or qualities of the different possessors—and with an utter disregard of the interests of the community, this law decrees that land, the first, most valuable, most indispensable element of the prosperity of every country, shall, in Scotland, in order to gratify the pride and vanity of a class—of a few individuals—be rendered *extra commercial*, excluded from the investment of capital, doomed to sterility with a superabundant population upon it.

"I am reluctant, Sir, to occupy your valuable time, and I shall therefore state as shortly as possible the effects of this law—1st, upon the class for whose supposed benefit this absurdity of a law

was enacted ; 2d, its effects upon the labouring classes of the country ; and, 3d, upon the community at large.

“ With regard to the first, to illustrate this law, I take the case of a gentleman I have in view, and the most common and perhaps not most unfortunate case of an entailed proprietor. The gentleman in question had a fair estate, and a family of six children. To enable him to live in the position in which he was born, and to educate his family, he had to rack-rent his tenants, expended nothing upon the improvement of his estate (for he would be doing so for the benefit of only one of his children, and that the only one who would be independent of him), and, though his land was susceptible of great improvement, the life-rent nature of the tenure prevented this, from the impossibility of borrowing one shilling upon the security of the estate, for such a purpose. The consequence was, that the possessor, his family, and the neighbouring population, were all doomed to poverty. His children grew up, and made corresponding greater demands upon his small means. Scarcely able to give them a tolerable education, he could give them nothing to enable them to embark in trade or commerce. They were idle from necessity, not from choice, and, consequently, dissipated and ill-doing. The father at length, broken-hearted, goes the way of all flesh ; and his eldest son—for whose benefit all this misery was endured—who, for years, was wishing for his father’s death, and doing nothing for his own support—succeeds him ; but grasps a shadow instead of a substance : mother, brothers, and sisters have all portions off the estate, and he finds himself a pauper proprietor. Disappointed and reckless, he horrows money wherever and at whatever rate he can get it, and soon sinks into utter poverty, misery, and despair.

“ Another case :—A childless man, seeing that he of whom he knows nothing, whom, probably, from being his heir, he actually hates, is to succeed him in his estate, acts in a way fully more injuriously. He cuts down every tree upon it, he leaves his mansion-house to go to ruin, and, residing constantly in London, has not once visited his estate for thirty-five years. Every shilling of rent has been withdrawn from the land which produced it, and not one farthing has been expended, during that long period, by the proprietor, upon it, or circulated among those, ‘ whose whole inheritance is toil,’ existing on it.

“ Another case :—A very good estate in this neighbourhood is possessed by a person who is crazy : the former possessor of it was so also ; the next, and the next, will be so too ; and, for these many years past, and for an indefinite time to come, not a sixpence has been, or will be, expended by the proprietors of this estate upon it.

“ Another case :—A very distant relative of the proprietor of another estate in this county was called to the succession. Though but a moderate estate, from the new proprietor’s former position, he thinks it to be inexhaustible, and acts accordingly. ‘ *Facilis descensus Avernus*.’ He is soon drowned in debt ; and, from a man who vegetates on £20 a-year, no great improvement of land should be expected. These cases are all in the same county, within a radius

of 20 miles, and reckoned by no means extraordinary or uncommon, for I could show many more such. Is a perpetuity, an eternity, of such landlords to be endured?

"But I tire you with a repetition of so many instances of misery to themselves, of ruin to others, among the Scottish landed proprietors. Suffice it to state, that, in this county, and, I may add, over all Scotland, there is not one instance of an entailed proprietor acting so well for himself, so beneficially for others, as he would do if his estate were unfettered, free to the investment of capital, open to the application of labour. And it is natural it should be so. The great moving principle of human action is wanting to them, viz., *self-interest*; and it would be, indeed, extraordinary if the total absence of this '*sine qua non*' should not be apparent. We cannot get a rent-paying farmer to cultivate his land properly, to expend labour upon his farm, or indeed to take any trouble about it, or any interest in it, without a lease. Is it, then, to be wondered at that entailed proprietors, who are but tenants-at-will, merely liferenters, should not be pattern landlords, wanting the greatest incentive, the most powerful stimulus, to exertion, viz., the security of themselves, or those they love, reaping the fruit of their exertions?

"I now come to the second class of the victims of this pretty law, viz., the labouring-classes; and if I claim your sympathy and implore your aid for the former class, doubly are they required for the latter. You may picture to yourself, Sir, a crowd of people on a man's estate, whose interest in it often is, at any rate whose fancy it is, not to give them employment (this would be doing good to his hated successor), or who, in the most favourable case, if he has the desire, always wants the ability (no money can be borrowed on an entailed estate) to employ them. It is impossible to exaggerate the misery and wretchedness on entailed estates, particularly when, as is often, indeed generally, the case, the proprietors, from poverty or want of interest in their possessions, are absentees. It is in these instances that the full working of this motive-destroying law is visible. Steeped to the lips in poverty, the peasantry live in hovels, and exist on food unfit for human beings. Neglected by their natural protectors, they grow up in ignorance—a population at once disgraceful and dangerous to their native land. And why? Because a law exists that prevents the possessors of land from giving the people employment, and from having any profit, interest, or benefit in giving them any, had they the means; a law which at once cuts off the means and destroys the inclination to do what is required. Where this law most operates, there, of course, misery is most apparent. The whole west coast of Ross-shire, of which we have lately heard so much, is strictly entailed. There the people live on potatoes alone. The proprietors of that district of country have made immense sacrifices of their *annual incomes* to keep the people from dying of hunger during the dreadful winter of 1846-7; *but not one of them could borrow a shilling upon the security of his estate, to put his dense, unemployed, starving people to some remunerative work upon it.* A Government

loan was the substitute eagerly grasped at by all; showing clearly the expediency of cancelling a law which is thus shown to have prevented the development of the capabilities of that district of country, which doomed its landlords to poverty and their vassals to misery. It would be a waste of words to say more as to the evils that must be inflicted upon the labouring classes, by a law that prevents the owners of land from borrowing money to improve their estates, and, at the same time, destroys their inclination to do so; so I shall proceed to state its effects upon the community generally. The great manufacturing interests suffer from this law, because no wages-earning, manufactures-consuming, population exists, nor ever can exist, while so fettered, upon entailed estates. The manufacturer suffers from an inadequate home market, or exchange for his productions, in order that one pauper laird may succeed another, to the particular discomfort of themselves and the utter misery of their dependents. The capitalist, who would bring out the capabilities of those neglected lands, comparatively enrich the labourers, and make them consumers of manufactures, finding no investment in the soil of his native land, puts his money in Pennsylvanian bonds or Greek scrip; and thus, what would have given employment to the agricultural labourer—afforded a market to the manufacturer—interest of money to the capitalist—rent to the landlord—and food for all, is lost for ever. Had such a beneficial, reproductive investment—as neglected entailed estates both in Scotland and England afford—been open to the capitalists of England, the railway mania would not have proceeded the length it has done. A more beneficial employment for the surplus capital of the country existed in it, but the entail law forbade it; and we are consequently minus our gold sent to America for what—or much of it—we might have produced at home. Blessed law of entail! and all in order that Scotch lairds—though poor and miserable all the days of their lives—may have the felicity of saying that they have had grandfathers.

“What gluts the learned professions to overflowing? What compels the death-struggle that goes on for a living among the higher classes—the younger sons of landed gentlemen—situations of £70, £80, or £100 a-year, being sought after so eagerly, that it is evident dire necessity compels it? What produces pride and arrogance in one class—envy, dislike, and hatred, in the other? A law that attempts to thwart the laws of nature and of God, which never intended that one class should always possess land, the other never. All for nought have been given to mankind, talents alike, natures as noble, dispositions as amiable, if we, by our laws, decree that one class, regardless of every circumstance which should sink it in the social scale, remain a privileged class; the other, even if possessing every quality that should raise it, remaining excluded from, and deprived of, the reward of its talents, industry, and honourable ambition. Such a law has Scotland been groaning under for nearly 200 years. Who can tell the misery it has worked among all classes during that long period—causing the father often to hate the son, the son to long for the death of his parent, the brother to envy

the brother—breaking every family tie, and making a hell upon earth of many a—but for this—happy family? Who can tell of the generations of peasantry who lived in penury and died of want, because of a law that denied their landlord the means, and took from him the inclination, to employ them? Doubtless to this remnant of barbarism must we trace the vast parks and game preserves of Britain. We have not a cultivated acre of land for each individual of our population, and, notwithstanding, we permit thousands and thousands of acres to be thrown into pasture for deer and cover for other game—giving not one hour's employment, not one sixpence of wages to starving agricultural labourers. Instead of employing them—as God intended they should be, and as the national good demands they should be—we clap them into bastiles, called workhouses, demoralizing them, and taxing the community for their support. We keep deer, hares, and pheasants, to eat up the food of man; and we import corn from the continent of Europe, and from America, instead of growing enough, and more than enough, at home, which would be the moving spring of employment to our own destitute labourers! Will it be believed, a hundred years hence, that, in the nineteenth century, the laws of Britain permitted, nay encouraged, game to be preserved and man starved?—that the soil of the country was not looked upon as the means of employing and feeding the people, but that it was allowed to descend from one generation to another (entail law) of imbeciles and fools, who could not make it beneficial to themselves nor advantageous to others? Not a country town in Scotland but feels the effect of this law, in an enhanced price of food, and in a non-resident or pauper gentry. Travel where you will, in any county in Scotland, and you will require no one to point out to you the entailed from the free estate—the one with an undrained soil, ragged fences, ruined cottages, and unemployed labourers; the other, all the reverse. It is superfluous to enlarge upon this. I might as well tell you that the sun gives light as tell you that an estate, upon which no one has the power or the inclination to spend money, *must* be in a ruinous condition, and the people upon it in want and misery. It is indeed a truism, and a sad one.”

No. VIII.

WASTE MANURE OF CITIES.

“Dr Ayres then read a paper on the importance of the animal refuse of towns as a manure, and the methods of rendering it available to agricultural purposes.

“The author commenced his paper by calling attention to the necessity of preserving the animal refuse of towns, and the importance which is attached to it in China, in Flanders, in many departments of France, Tuscany, &c.; and also to the various forms in which it is applied to the earth. In the neighbourhood of Grenoble, Lyons, and Nice, it is employed in the state in which it is removed

from the cesspools. In Flanders it is diluted with a large quantity of water, and employed as a liquid manure. In China, it is mixed with dried clay and made into cakes; and a manufacture has more recently sprung up in France, which consists in mixing the contents of the cesspools with the calcined mud of rivers, adding some proto-sulphate of iron, and allowing the mixture to become dry.

"Having alluded to the importance of this subject in connexion with the improvement of the sanitary condition of the towns themselves, and the injurious effects of putrefying matter on the health of the inhabitants of London in particular, by allowing it to be carried into the Thames, there to be tossed about upon the waves, and at each retreat of the tide to be left exposed upon the shores, he proceeded to call attention to the contents of the cesspools of London alone, which he calculated would yield not less than 46,500 tons of perfectly dry matter annually; a quantity, according to the estimate of Liebig, sufficient to fertilize at least, 1,000,000 acres of land, and the monetary value of which cannot be stated at less than L.340,000.

"Several plans have been proposed for reducing animal refuse to a dry state:—viz., the plan employed in France, and patented in England by Mr Brown; the plan patented by Mr Higgs; and that for which the author of the present paper has obtained a patent.

"The first of these consists in deodorising the animal refuse by a mixture of perchloride of iron, and pyrolignite of iron, then mixing it with calcined river mud, and drying it by exposure to the air.

The second plan—viz. that by Mr Higgs—is applied to the sewerage, and consists in receiving the sewerage into large tanks or reservoirs, throwing into these reservoirs a quantity of slaked lime, allowing the solid matter to subside, and then, having drawn off the water, the solid deposit is dried in the shaft of a steam-engine. The ammonia which escapes during this process is received into wooden chambers built over the reservoirs, into which a quantity of chlorine gas is disengaged, and thus chloride of ammonia is formed, which condenses on spars stretched across the chambers.

"Previous to describing the process patented by the author, he adverted to the value of the animal refuse, by quoting the following extract from Liebig's *Agricultural Chemistry*:—"On the assumption that the liquid and solid excrements amount on the average to one pound and a half daily, and that the liquid and solid taken together contain 3 per cent. of nitrogen, then in one year they will amount to 547 pounds, containing 14.41 pounds of nitrogen—a quantity sufficient to yield nitrogen to 800 pounds of wheat, rye, or oats, or 900 pounds of barley. This is much more than is required to manure an acre of land, in order to obtain, with the assistance of the nitrogen of the atmosphere, the richest crops every year. By adopting a system of rotation crops, every town and farm might thus supply itself with manure, which, containing the most nitrogen, contains also the most phosphates. By using at the same time bones, and the lixiviated wood-ashes, animal (domestic animal)

excrements might be completely dispensed with on many kinds of soil.—*Liebig*, p. 191.

“Not only do the contents of cesspools furnish a manure rich in nitrogen, but one of the richest in the inorganic matters and salts required for the fertilization of the soil. This is shown by the analysis of the ashes of human excreta by Berzelius. The ashes amounted to 15 per cent. of the dried matter, and consisted of

Phosphate of lime and magnesia, with traces of sulphate of lime	. 66.66
Carbonate of soda	. 5.34
Sulphate and phosphate of soda, with some sulphate of potass	. 5.34
Soluble silica, from vegetable food	. 10.66
Charcoal	. 12.00
	<hr/>
	• 100.00

The following experiments by Hermbstardt were also quoted, and are of a practical nature :—

“Equal plots of ground of the same nature and productiveness were manured with equal weights of different manures in their dry state. The soil without any manure yielded threefold the seed sown ; manured with dry herbage, old hay, leaves, and other vegetable matters, fivefold ; with dry stable dung, sevenfold ; with pigeon-dung, ninefold ; with dry horse dung, tenfold ; with extract of urine, twelvefold ; with dried blood, and dried night-soil, fourteenfold. So that dried night-soil equals the most powerful animal manures in its fertilising properties.

“The author next proceeded to describe his process as essentially depending on the fact, that all the gaseous and volatile products of putrefaction are combustible, and may be resolved into the ordinary products of combustion when carried over any incandescent surface, or over or through burning fuel, when mixed with atmospheric air. Thus, ammonia is resolved into nitrogen and water ; sulphuretted hydrogen into sulphurous acid and water ; carburetted hydrogen into carbonic acid and water ; phosphoretted hydrogen into phosphoric acid and water ; the volatile organic matters associated with the gases are completely destroyed ; carbonic acid alone passes through the fire unchanged. All these gases, with the exception of ammonia and carbonic acid, exist only in very small proportions in putrescent animal matter. It follows, from what has been stated, that all the volatile products of putrefaction are thus resolvable into the ordinary products of combustion, which are well known to be innocuous. It suffices to conduct these gases and vapours through a fire to effect their entire decomposition and destruction.

“The apparatus by which this process may be worked is susceptible of many modifications ; but that to which the author particularly desired to direct the attention of the Society consists in drying the animal refuse by the application of heat, either obtained from steam pipes or otherwise.”

No. IX.

FINANCIAL REFORM HOPELESS WITHOUT THE ABOLITION OF ENTAILS.

(From the Free Church Magazine.)

“The truth is, that the real evil lies much deeper than the surface. We are ruled in this country by the aristocracy. The ministry is shifted from Whig to Tory, but the aristocracy always rules. Their rule has always a tendency to become despotic and inexorable. Having few wants themselves, it has always been remarked that they are strangers to real sympathy with the wants of others. Besides, they are impelled by the arrangements under which their property is placed, to seek the multiplication of places at the public expense for the superfluous members of their families. It seems a paradox, but it is nevertheless true, that our army and navy has the strongest tendency to increase in the time of peace, because it is during peace that there is the greatest accumulation of the younger branches of the aristocracy, for whom public provision must be made. By the law of entail and primogeniture, all their property in land descends to the eldest son. A duke, let us suppose, has five sons and five estates; by the natural plan he could easily provide for all his family, by giving them an estate each. But by the law of entail the eldest son gets all, and the rest are saddled upon the country. The eldest son having secured all, goes to the prime minister of the day and insists, in return for his political influence, that all his brothers shall be provided for. Hence the need of increasing the army and navy, of multiplying the diplomatic staff, of making great batches of colonial bishops—in short, of swelling the public expenditure in every direction, to provide for these fledglings of the aristocracy, especially during the time of peace; for during war their numbers are of course lessened. Hence the necessity of continual watchfulness on the part of the people, so long as the present system remains; but hence the especial need, also, of our financial reformers going deeper, and not only endeavouring to destroy the bitter fruit, but rooting out the corrupt tree—the law of entail and primogeniture—on which it grows.”

THE END.